

A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
DESCENT of the ROMANS,
TO THE
DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO
His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.
Late of Jesus College, Oxford.

HISTORY is *philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke from Dion. Halli.

VOL. XXVIII.

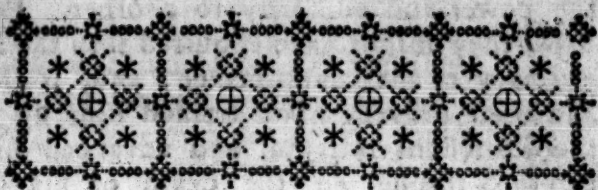
L O N D O N :

Printed for S. CROWDER and Co. in *Pater-noster-Row*,
and J. WILKIE, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*,

A NEW
HISTORY OF
ENGLAND

FROM THE
DESCENT OF THE ROMANS
TO THE
PRESENT TIME
BY
WILLIAM H. STUBBS, ESQ.
OF
TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD
BY
WILLIAM LEITCH, ESQ.
OF
TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN THREE VOLUMES
VOL. I.
LONDON:
PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.
1821.



T H E
History of ENGLAND.



The I N T E R R E G N U M.
A. D. 1688.



AD James continued in the kingdom till the meeting of the parliament, it is hard to say what steps that assembly might have taken in his favour. Perhaps, they might have allowed him to enjoy the

4 *The History of* ENGLAND.

the title of king, though they transferred the power and authority to another. Perhaps, they might have enquired into the legitimacy of the young prince; and, if that had been proved, have trained him up in the Protestant religion, and advanced him to the throne on the death of his father.

But these, and all the other advantages, which the king might have gained, he effectually lost by his folly and imprudence. By his own rash and precipitate flight, he had done all that lay in his power to involve the kingdom in anarchy and confusion; and discovered his unconquerable aversion to the meeting of a free parliament. By sending his son into France, he had shown his fixed and determined resolution to bring him up in the same religion, to which himself was so bigottedly attached; a circumstance, which would render him as unfit for wearing the crown of these kingdoms, as if his birth had been really illegitimate.

Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to leave that weak and infatuated monarch to the guidance of his own councils, and to settle the government in the best manner possible. This, however, was a work of greater difficulty than could well be imagined.

gined. No parliament was at that time assembled; and, without a king, no parliament could be legally assembled.

Some lawyers, entangled in the subtleties of their own profession, could think of no other expedient, than that the prince of Orange should claim the crown by right of conquest; should take upon him the title of sovereign; and should summon a parliament, which, being thus legally convoked by a king in possession, might ratify whatever had been done before they assembled. But this measure, being inconsistent with all the principles of liberty, the only principles on which his future throne could be erected, was wisely declined by the prince; who, finding he enjoyed the good-will of the nation, determined to leave them to their own guidance and direction.

The peers and bishops to the number of ninety presented an address, entreating him to summon a convention by circular letters; to undertake, in the mean time, the administration of the government; and to concert measures for the security of Ireland. The prince thanked them for this mark of confidence: but was still desirous of obtaining a more express declaration in his favour; and a very judicious expedient was employed for that purpose.

All those, who had been members of the house of commons during any parliament of Charles the second (the only parliaments whose election was supposed to have been free) were desired to assemble; and to these were joined the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common-council of the city. This was the most equal representative of the people, which could be convened in the present conjuncture. They immediately presented the same address with the lords: and the prince, being thus countenanced by all the legal authority, which could then be obtained, sent circular letters to the several counties and corporations of England, requiring them to elect members for composing a convention.

These orders were punctually obeyed; and the convention met on the twenty-second of January.* After thanks were unanimously returned by both houses to the prince of Orange for the services which he had done them; a remarkable vote was in a few days passed by a great majority of the commons, and sent up to the house of peers for their approbation. It imported, "That king
" James the second, having endeavoured to
" sub-

* A. D. 1689.

“ subvert the constitution of the kingdom,
“ by breaking the original contract be-
“ tween king and people, and having, by
“ the advice of Jesuits and other evil per-
“ sons, violated the fundamental laws, and
“ withdrawn himself out of the kingdom,
“ had abdicated the government, and that
“ the throne was thereby become vacant.”

This vote, when presented to the upper house, met with a violent opposition; of which it may not here be improper to assign the reason.

The Tories and high-churchmen, seeing themselves at once threatened with a total subversion of their laws and of their religion, had zealously encouraged the national revolt, and had on this occasion abandoned those principles of passive-obedience and non-resistance, to which, while the king favoured them, they had so firmly and so invariably adhered. Their present fears had got the better of their political tenets; and the insatuated monarch, who had too much depended on these general declarations, which can never be reduced to practice, found in the end that both were engaged in opposition to him.

But no sooner was the storm overblown, than party prejudices resumed their former authority, and the Tories were ashamed of
that

8. *The History of ENGLAND.*

that victory, which, during the late revolution, their antagonists had obtained over them. They were resolved, therefore, to observe another course; and though generally determined to oppose the king's return, they flatly refused to agree to his dethronement, or to any alteration in the order of succession. A regent with kingly power appeared to them the most proper expedient; and a late instance in Portugal was advanced as a plausible precedent for that plan of government.

In defence of this scheme the Tories alledged, that, by the constant tenor of the English laws, the right of the crown was ever held sacred, and could not, on any account, or by any mal-administration, be forfeited by the sovereign: that to depose a king and to elect his successor, was a practice inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, and naturally destructive of kingly authority: that where the prince, from his tender years, from lunacy, or from other natural infirmity was incapable of wielding the reins of government, both the laws and former practice concurred in appointing a regent, who, during the interval, possessed the whole power of the administration: that the bigotted and incurable prejudices of James had as effectually disqualified him
for

for swaying the English sceptre, as if he had been seized with a lunacy; and it was therefore natural for the people to employ the same remedy: that the election of one king opened the door for the election of another; and the government, by that means, would either be converted into a republic, or, what was worse, into a turbulent and factious monarchy: that the danger was still greater, if there remained a prince, who laid claim to the crown by right of succession, and disputed, on so plausible a ground, the title of the present sovereign: that though the doctrine of passive-obedience could not be maintained in every circumstance, yet was the belief of it extremely useful in securing the peace and tranquillity of the public: that the appointment of a regent might indeed be attended with many inconveniences; but so long as the line of succession was preserved intire, there were still hopes of putting an end, some time or other, to the public disorders: and that few instances occurred in history, especially in the English history, where the exclusion of the lineal heir had not been productive of much greater evils, than those, which the people endeavoured to avoid, by having recourse to that expedient.

The

10 *The History of ENGLAND.*

The Whigs, on the other hand, maintained, that if there was any ill to be dreaded from the dethroning one king, and electing his successor, the same, if not greater ill, would result from the establishment of a regent: that if the laws gave no liberty to depose the sovereign, neither did they allow the resisting his authority, or dividing the power from the title: that a regent had never been appointed, except where the prince, on account of his tender years or his infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that case, his will was supposed to be included in that of the regent: that nothing could be more absurd than to try a man for acting upon a commission, granted by a prince, whom we ourselves confess to be the lawful sovereign; nor could any jury be ever persuaded to give sentence against such a criminal: that even the prospect of being freed from this dangerous inconvenience was, in the present situation of things, more distant than that of putting an end to the contested succession: that supposing the young prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried into a Catholic country; he would be educated in the principles of that religion; and he would probably have a son infected with the same superstition: that if the whole line was excluded

cluded by law, the people would in time forget or neglect their claim; an advantage, which could not be expected, while the government was conducted in their name, and while they were still allowed to enjoy the legal title; and that a nation, thus perpetually ruled by regents or protectors, partook more of the nature of a republic, than one subject to monarchs, whose hereditary succession, as well as present authority, was fixed and established by the people.

This question was debated with equal zeal and eloquence by the different parties in the house of peers. The chief speakers amongst the Tories were Clarendon, Rochester, and Nottingham: among the Whigs, Hallifax, and Danby. Upon a division, the question was carried for a king by two voices only, fifty-one against forty-nine: all the prelates, except two, the bishops of London and Bristol, declared for a regent. The archbishop of Canterbury, a timorous and pusillanimous man, kept at a distance, both from the prince's court and from parliament.

The peers next proceeded to examine every part of the vote, sent up to them by the commons. They enquired, "Whether
" there was an original contract between
" king

12 *The History of ENGLAND.*

“ king and people ? ” and it was carried in the affirmative by fifty-three against forty-six. The next question was, “ Whether king “ James had broke that original contract ? ” and after a faint opposition, it was agreed that he had. The lords proceeded to consider the word *abdicated*; and it was carried that *deserted* was more proper.

The last question was, “ Whether king “ James “ing broke the original contract, and *deserted* the government, the “ throne was thereby become vacant.” This question was agitated with more warmth and animosity than any of their former; and upon a division, the Tories prevailed by eleven voices. It was therefore resolved to leave out the last article with regard to the vacancy of the throne; and the vote, with these amendments, was sent back to the commons. The earl of Danby had formed the project of bestowing the crown solely upon the princess of Orange, and of declaring her the lawful and hereditary successor of her father; passing by the infant prince as illegitimate or supposititious. It was owing to his change of party, that the Tories carried the last question by so great a majority.

The commons still adhered to their vote, and represented the reasons, why the lords
should

should omit their amendments. The lords were not satisfied; and it was necessary to appoint a free conference, in order to determine this point. Never national debate surely was more interesting, nor conducted by more able speakers: yet were the arguments advanced by both sides extremely weak and frivolous; more resembling the verbal disputes of the schools, than the solid reasonings of statesmen and legislators. This, in a great measure, may be ascribed to the following circumstance.

The Tories, notwithstanding their high professions of passive-obedience and non-resistance, had heartily concurred with the Whigs in bringing about the Revolution. The Whigs, now the ruling party, had so much regard for their new allies, as not to require, that the crown should be declared *forfeited* on account of the king's arbitrary government: such a procedure, they imagined, would contain too flat a condemnation of the old Tory principles, and too direct an approbation of their own. They resolved, therefore, to confound together the king's violation of the laws and his voluntary flight from the kingdom; and they termed the whole an *abdication*; as if he had given a virtual, though not a verbal consent, to his dethronement.

14 *The History of ENGLAND.*

The Tories were so ungenerous as to take advantage of this seeming impropriety, which was entirely owing to the complaisance or delicacy of the Whigs; and they alledged, that the word *desertion* was much more proper and significant. It was answered, that however that expression might be justly applied to the king's voluntary flight, it could not, with any show of reason, be extended to his open attempts to destroy the constitution. And thus both parties, while they abandoned their true principles, from regard to their antagonists, and from prudential maxims, lost the praise of consistence and uniformity.

The managers for the lords next asserted, that even admitting the king's abuse of power to amount to an abdication, or, in other words, to a civil death, it could have no other effect than his voluntary resignation or his natural death; and could only make way for his next successor: that it was a maxim in English law, "That the throne was never vacant;" but immediately upon the death of one king was occupied by his legal heir, who had a right to all the authority of his predecessor: and that however young and unfit for government the successor, however unhappy in his circumstances, were he even a prisoner in
the

the hands of public enemies; yet no just reason could be alledged, why, without any fault of his own, he should be deprived of a crown, to which, by birth, he had an undoubted title.

The managers for the commons might have refuted this reasoning by many strong and solid arguments. They might have said, that, however sacred the right of succession, it could only be considered, as the means of promoting the good of the whole, which ever is, and ever must be, allowed to be the primary end of all government; and when ever the means are found inconsistent with the end, they ought, without scruple, to be sacrificed to it: that to maintain the contrary doctrine, to insist, that the right of hereditary succession ought to be preferred to the welfare of the public, was injurious to the dignity of human nature, and utterly destructive of those principles of liberty, which chiefly distinguish freemen from slaves: that though upon the natural death of one king, who had acted agreeably to the laws, many and great inconveniencies would be borne; rather than exclude his lineal successor; yet the case was not the same, when the people had been forced, by unavoidable necessity, to depose a prince, who, by every part of his conduct, had

shown his fixed and determined resolution to destroy the liberties and privileges of the nation: that on these extraordinary emergencies, the government reverted to its original principles, and the community acquired a right of securing the public interests by expedients, which on other occasions, might be considered as violent and irregular: and that king James, having withdrawn himself from the kingdom, and even carried his son along with him, had given such just offence to the nation, had voluntarily exposed it to so much danger, that the interests of his family were justly sacrificed to the general good and welfare of the people. Though these arguments are altogether unanswerable, they were entirely omitted by the Whig-managers; both because they supposed the legitimacy of the infant prince, which, it was resolved to leave undetermined, and because they implied too severe a censure of Tory-principles. They were contented to defend the vote of the commons by shifts and evasions; and both sides parted at last without coming to any accommodation.

But things could not remain long in their present situation. The lords, finding it impossible to procure the insertion of their amendments, were finally obliged to comply;

ply; and by the desertion of some peers to the Whig-party, the vote of the commons, without any alteration, passed by a small majority in the upper-house, and received the sanction of every part of the legislature, which then existed.

During all these transactions, the prince of Orange behaved with uncommon moderation. He took no steps to influence the elections, which were carried on with the most perfect freedom: he ordered the troops to depart from all the towns where the voters assembled: he suppressed a tumultuous petition, which had been presented to the two houses, though it was calculated to serve his own interest: he entered into no intrigues with the electors or the members: he observed a profound silence as if he had no concern in these proceedings: and so far from courting the leaders of parties, he did not even treat them with his usual affability.

At last, apprehensive that his silence might be liable to a bad construction, he thought proper to express his sentiments on the present occasion. He sent for Hallifax, Shrewsbury, Danby, and a few more; and he told them, that having been invited over to restore their laws and liberties, he had undertaken the enterprize, and had at last happily accomplished his purpose: that it

was the business of the parliament, now assembled with freedom, to concert the necessary measures for preserving these blessings, and he presumed not to interfere in their deliberations. That he heard of several schemes proposed for settling the government of the kingdom; some recommended a regent; others advised the bestowing the crown on the princess; it was their duty to adopt that plan of administration, which was most advantageous to the nation. That if they chose to appoint a regent, they should readily have his consent: he only thought proper to acquaint them, that he was resolved not to be the regent, nor ever to engage in a scheme, which, he was sensible, must be attended with numberless inconveniences. That no man could have a deeper sense of the princess's merit than he was impressed with; he was of such a disposition, that he could not think of holding a crown dependent upon any woman upon earth. And that they must therefore, if they embraced either of these plans, settle the administration in the best manner they could: for his own part it would be entirely out of his power to give them any farther assistance: his affairs abroad were too important to be abandoned.

done for so precarious a dignity, or even to allow him so much leisure as would be necessary to introduce order into their disjointed government.

These views of the prince were promoted by the princess herself, who, as she was endowed with many virtues, possessed that most capital of all female virtues, an inviolable fidelity and attachment to her husband. When Danby and others of her partizans sent an account of their schemes in her favour, she expressed the highest displeasure, and even transmitted their letters to her husband, as a sacrifice to conjugal duty. The princess Anne likewise approved of the same plan for the public settlement; and being flattered with the hopes of a large revenue, was willing to be postponed, in the order of succession.

All parties being therefore agreed, the convention passed a bill, where they bestowed the crown on the prince and princess of Orange; the sole regal power to remain in the hands of the prince; the princess of Denmark to succeed after the death of the prince and princess of Orange; her posterity after those of the princess, but before those of the prince, by any other wife. To this settlement of the crown, the convention

tion annexed a declaration of rights,* where all the points, which had, of late years, been contested between king and people, were finally determined; and the prerogative of the prince, and the privileges of the people, were more exactly ascertained, than in any former period of the English government.

On

* As the declaration of rights forms an essential part of the English constitution, it may not be improper to subjoin a copy of it.

Whereas the late king James the second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom; by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with, and suspending of laws, without consent of parliament: by committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed powers: by issuing, and causing to be executed, a commission under the great seal, for erecting a court called, *The court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes*: by levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament: by raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament: and quartering soldiers contrary to law: by causing divers good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law: by violating the freedoms of election

On the twelfth day of February, the prince of Orange arrived in London. Next day

election of members to serve in parliament: by prosecutions in the court of King's-bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons, have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high-treason, which were not freeholders; and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects; and excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments have been inflicted; and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied: all which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late king James the second, having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the prince of Orange, (whom it hath pleased almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the commons) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the chusing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster, upon the twenty-second day of January, in the year 1688,
in

tion annexed a declaration of rights,* where all the points, which had, of late years, been contested between king and people, were finally determined; and the prerogative of the prince, and the privileges of the people, were more exactly ascertained, than in any former period of the English government.

On

* As the declaration of rights forms an essential part of the English constitution, it may not be improper to subjoin a copy of it.

Whereas the late king James the second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom; by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with, and suspending of laws, without consent of parliament: by committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power: by issuing, and causing to be executed, a commission under the great seal, for erecting a court called, *The court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes*: by levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament: by raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament: and quartering soldiers contrary to law: by causing divers good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when Papists were both armed and employed contrary to law: by violating the freedom of election

On the twelfth day of February, the princess of Orange arrived in London. Next day

election of members to serve in parliament: by prosecutions in the court of King's-bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons, have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high-treason, which were not freeholders; and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects; and excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments have been inflicted; and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied: all which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late king James the second, having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the prince of Orange, (whom it hath pleased almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the commons) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the chusing of such persons to represent them, as were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster, upon the twenty-second day of January, in the year 1688,
in

day the members of the two houses met in the banqueting house, where the prince and

in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws and liberties, might not again be in danger of being subverted: upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, pursuant to their several letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties; declare 1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed of late, is illegal. 3. That the commission of erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious. 4. That levying of money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prorogation, without grant of parliament for longer time, or in other manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal. 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal. 6. That the raising and keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law. 7. That the subjects, which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law. 8. That elections of members of parliament ought to be

and princess sat in state; and the declaration of rights being read, the marquis of Hal-

be free. 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament. 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. 11. That jurors ought to be duly impannelled and returned, and jurors which pass sentence upon men in trials of high-treason ought to be freeholders. 12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void. 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties: and no declarations, judgments, doings or proceedings to the prejudice of the people in any of the premises ought in any wise to be drawn into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein.

Having therefore an entire confidence, that his said highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties; the lords (spiritual and temporal, assembled at Westminster, do

24 *The History of ENGLAND.*

Hallifax, speaker of the upper house, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses,

resolve, that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions, to them the said prince and princess, during their lives and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and exercised by the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their decease the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue, to the princess Anne of Denmark, and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange.

And the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do pray the said prince and princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly: and that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken of all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated: I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties, king William and queen Mary. So help me God. I A. B. do swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, that

nesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer with many expressions of gratitude; and that same day he and the princess were proclaimed by the names of William and Mary, king and queen of England, France, and Ireland.

VOL. XXVIII.

C

BOOK

that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm, So help me God,



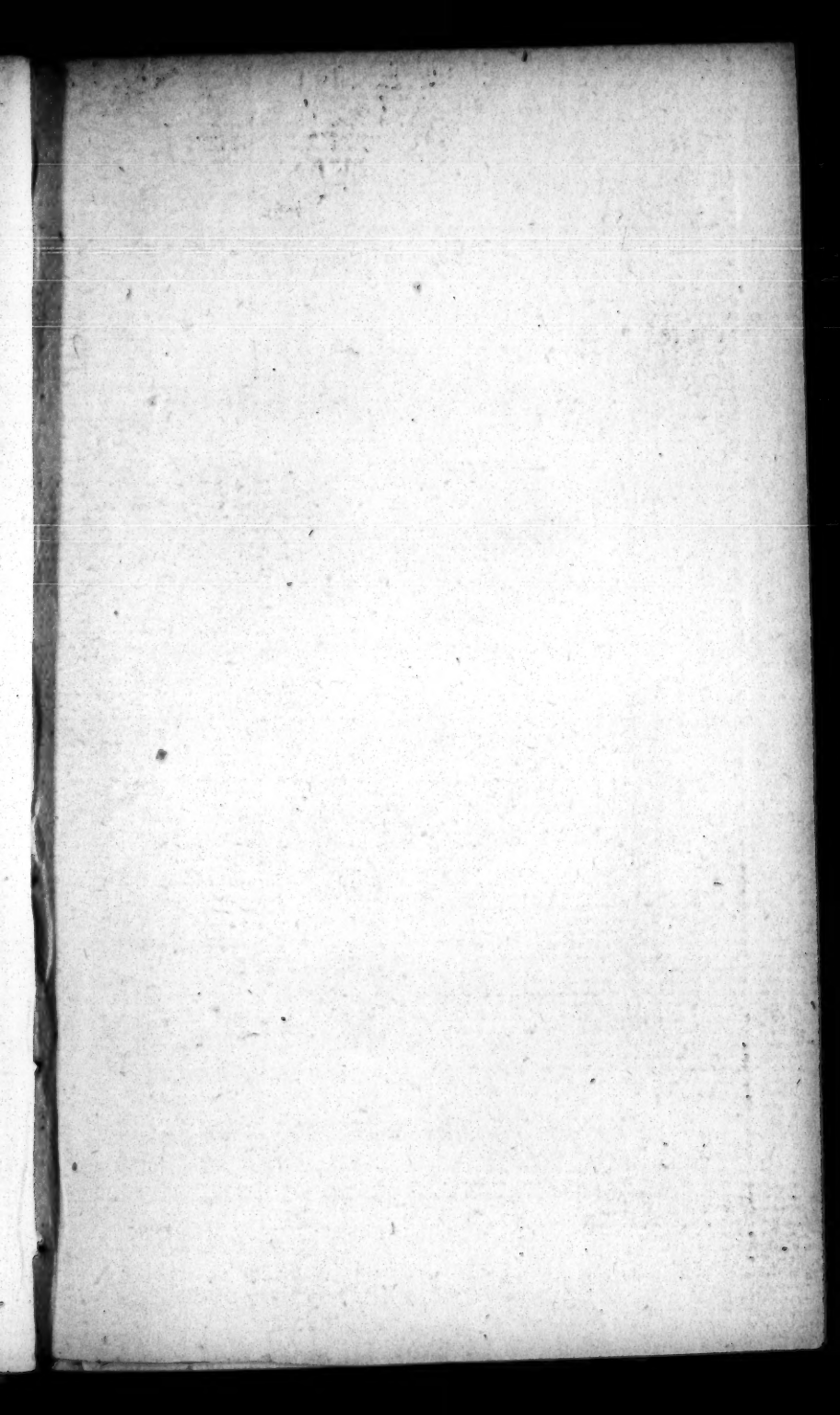
B O O K XII.

From the Revolution to the Accession
of George the First, comprehending
the Space of twenty-six Years.

WILLIAM III. and MARY II.
A. D. 1689.



H A T the reader may be the better enabled to understand the transactions of the following reign, it will be necessary to acquaint him with the state of parties at the time of the revolution. During the latter part of king James's reign, the whole nation seemed to be of one mind, Tories and Whigs unanimously agreed in opposing his measures: but no sooner had that blind and insatuated monarch abandoned the govern-



WILLIAM III.



Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

MARY Consort to K. WILLIAM



J. M. K. 1702

Engraved for Rider's History of England

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 27

vernment and withdrawn into France, than each party resumed its former prejudices.

The Tories, it is true, when threatened with the utter destruction of their religion and liberties, had renounced the practice of passive-obedience and non-resistance; yet did they still invariably adhere to the principle on which that doctrine was founded, namely, the divine, indisputable, hereditary right of kings. And, therefore, though they had heartily concurred with the Whigs in inviting the prince of Orange to their assistance, their only intention was to oblige king James to alter his measures and regulate his conduct by the laws of the land. Of these sentiments were about one half of the lords, one third of the commons, and almost all the clergy.

The Tories, however, were not perfectly unanimous in every particular. Some of them, understanding the principle of passive-obedience in its full extent and literal meaning, proposed the expedient of a regency; hoping, that, could they gain that point, they should, in time, be able to overcome the aversion which the nation had conceived against the government of king James, and at length, perhaps, to effect his restoration. For this reason, when the prince of Orange was declared king, they

could not comply with the public settlement, nor swear allegiance to the new sovereign; but composed what was properly called the nonjuring party; whose number indeed was not very great, though headed, however, by Dr. Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, and several other lords, as well spiritual as temporal.

Others imagined, that, though they could not, consistently with their principles, promote the elevation of the prince of Orange to the throne; yet, when he was declared king, they might lawfully swear allegiance to him, by means of the distinction of a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto*; a distinction, authorized by the famous statute of Henry the seventh, importing, that no person should be impeached or attainted for having assisted the king for the time being.

These, however, were subdivided into two different branches, on account of the two very different conclusions, which they drew from this distinction. The first sincerely believed that a king *de facto* was entitled to their obedience, and that they were bound to defend and support him, even in opposition to the prince, in whom they allowed the right to be still vested. Hence it was, that, though they could not
be

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 29

be persuaded to vote or act against the principles which they had formerly professed as maxims of law, yet could they resolve to adhere to the new settlement, when once it was established. This principle can by no means be justified; but it could not however be esteemed dangerous: and, indeed, it appears to have been built on so weak and slippery a foundation, that it did not long continue in force,

The other branch of the Tories, who were usually stiled the High-fliers, entertained very different, and more absurd sentiments. Availing themselves of the famous distinction between a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto*, they swore allegiance to one sovereign, and yet held that allegiance due to another. They bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to preserve a government, which they yet affirmed they were obliged in conscience entirely to subvert. This (as Lord Bolingbroke justly observes) was to justify perfidy, to sanctify perjury, to destroy the distinction between right and wrong, and, as far as in them lay, to teach mankind to call good evil, and evil good.

The meaning of the oath, in their opinion, was, that they were only bound to obey the new king as an usurper, while his usurpation lasted; but that they were still at liberty to

assist king James, if he should come to recover his throne, and might even employ their utmost endeavours in order to effect his restoration. That these were the sentiments of this branch of the Tories, is but too evident from their conduct during the whole reign of king William, which they laboured, with all their might, and with too much success, to disturb and molest.

The Whigs were likewise divided into two parties. One of these, being strongly inclined to republican principles, resolved to take advantage of the present opportunity to retrench the power of the crown, extend the privileges of the people, and even perhaps to erect a democratic government on the ruins of the monarchy. Nay some of them went so far as to affirm, that the whole government was dissolved; from whence a dissolution of all men's properties, rights and honours, might have been justly apprehended. But the majority of the Whigs, though they had heartily concurred in effecting the Revolution, were warmly attached to the old constitution; and were even determined to adhere to the lineal succession, as far as was consistent with the good of the public; which they rationally believed to be the end of all government.

With

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 31

With regard to the clergy, they had involved themselves in such difficulties, by inculcating the doctrine of passive-obedience and non-resistance, that they were long at a loss what course to pursue. They could not without renouncing their former principles, acknowledge the legality of William's title: they had therefore recourse to the common distinction of a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto*; and too many of them drew the same consequence from that distinction, with the rigid Tories; that is they swore allegiance to one king, while they held that allegiance due to another.

But such of them as embraced the new government with more cordiality, were influenced by a notion, which seemed to tally with their principles: this was, "that the prince of Orange had just cause to make war upon the king; that success in a just war, ought to be considered as the decision of heaven; and consequently that the prince's success gave him a right of conquest over king James, and a title to every thing which was formerly possessed by that monarch." This notion is said to have had a powerful influence on the whole body of the clergy, most of whom submitted to the new establishment.

A few, however, who were more scrupulous, still refused to take the oath of allegiance, and resolved to continue among the nonjurors. Such was the state of parties at the time of the Revolution; and this being remembered will serve to account for many incidents, which might otherwise appear to be altogether unaccountable.

The first act of William's reign was to publish a proclamation confirming all Protestants in the enjoyment of the offices which they possessed under the former king. He then chose the members of his council,* who were generally devoted to his interest, except the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Nottingham; and these were admitted in complaisance to the Tories, whom it was thought imprudent to disoblige. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were declared secretaries of state; the marquis of Halifax

* The council was composed of the following persons: the prince of Denmark, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the marquisses of Halifax and Winchester; the earls of Danby, Lindsey, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Dorset and Middlesex, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, Nottingham; the viscounts Falconbridge, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the lords Wharton, Montague, Delamere, Churchill, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Sir John Lowther, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Powle, Mr. Russell, Mr. Boscawen, and Mr. Hambden.

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 33

keeper of the privy-seal; and the earl of Danby president of the council.

The two last nobleman possessed a considerable share of the king's confidence; but the chief favourite was Bentinck, first commoner on the list of privy-counsellors, as well as groom of the stole and privy-purse. D'Auverquerque was made master of the horse, Zuylestein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: the treasury, admiralty, and chancery, were put in commission; twelve able judges were appointed*; the earl of Devonshire was made lord steward of the household, the earl of Dorset, lord chamberlain, the viscount Newport, treasurer, and Mr. Wharton, comptroller. †

The

* The judges were Sir John Holt, lord chief-justice, Sir William Dolben, Sir William Gregory, and Giles Eyre, justices of the King's bench; Sir Henry Pollexfen, lord chief-justice, Sir John Powel, Sir Thomas Rokeby, Peyton Ventriss, justices of the Common-pleas; Sir Robert Atkins, lord chief baron, Sir Edward Nevil, Nicholas Lechmere, John Turton, barons of the Exchequer; John Trenchard, chief-justice of Chester, Sir George Treby, attorney-general, John Sommers, solicitor-general, and Henry Powle, master of the Rolls.

† The other officers of the household were, Sir John Lowther, vice-chamberlain; lord Montague, master

The diocese of Salisbury falling vacant by the death of Dr. Ward, the king, of his own accord, bestowed it upon Burnet, as a reward for the services, which he had performed during the Revolution. The archbishop of Canterbury, who probably considered the share which he had in that transaction as his greatest crime, flatly refused to consecrate Burnet; but being afraid of incurring the penalties of a premunire, he granted a commission to the bishop of London, and three other suffragans, to perform that office.

The first resolution taken in the new council was to convert the convention into a parliament, in order to remove the objections which might be raised against the validity of their proceedings, as they had not been convoked by the king's writ of summons. The election of a new parliament might be attended with too many delays; the members might not be so favourably disposed to-

wards

master of the great wardrobe; the bishop of London, dean of the chapel; lord Lovelace, captain of the band of pensioners; the duke of Ormond, the earl of Oxford, the lords Mordaunt, Lumley, and Churchill, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber; the earl of Wiltshire, son to the marquis of Winchester, lord chamberlain to the queen; John Howe, vice-chamberlain; Mr. Villiers, great master of the horse; the countess of Darby, sister to the duke of Ormond, first lady of the bed-chamber, and groom of the stole to her majesty.

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 35

wards the new settlement as those of the present assembly; and it was therefore proposed that the king should, by his authority, change the convention into a parliament, by going to the house of lords with the usual state of a sovereign, and delivering a speech from the throne to both houses.

This expedient was accordingly adopted. He told them that he entertained the most grateful sense of the confidence they had reposed in him, and would endeavour to behave in such a manner as never to forfeit their good opinion: that the situation of Holland was such as required their immediate aid and assistance: that the posture of affairs at home likewise demanded their attention: that a large settlement was necessary not only for the preservation of domestic tranquillity, but also for the support of the Protestant interest abroad: that the affairs of Ireland were in such a condition as would admit of no delay: that he hoped they would concert the most prudent and effectual measures for promoting the welfare of the public: and that nothing on his part should be wanting to accomplish so desirable an end.

This speech was received with general applause not only by the parliament, but even by the whole nation. The same day, the lords brought

brought in a bill "to remove and prevent
 " all questions and disputes concerning the
 " assembling and sitting of the present par-
 " liament." This bill being twice read
 without delay, was immediately passed, and
 sent down to the commons for their concur-
 rence.

The lower house went into a committee upon the subject; and Mr. Hampden, their chairman, put the question, whether a king elected by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled at Westminster, coming to, and consulting with the said lords and commons, did not make as complete a parliament, and legislative power and authority, to all events and purposes, as if the said king should cause new writs to be issued, and new elections to be made? The Whigs maintained the affirmative; the Tories, the negative. The latter, headed by Sir Edward Seymour, alleged, that the king's writs were as necessary as his presence to the being of a parliament; and as the convention was destitute of this advantage, it could not, by any expedient, be vested with a parliamentary authority.

The Whigs replied, that the essence of a parliament consisted in the meeting and joint consultation of the king, lords and com-
 2 mons,

mons, nor was it of any consequence, whether they were convened by writ or by letter. This assertion they evinced by a variety of similar examples, drawn from the history of England. They farther observed, that a new election would be attended with great trouble, expence and loss of time; and that such delay might be extremely prejudicial to the Protestants in Ireland, as well as to the allies on the Continent.

For these reasons, the commons agreed to the bill, which immediately received the royal assent; and from that time the convention was denominated the parliament. The bill likewise ordained, that this act should be adjudged to commence from the thirteenth of February, the day on which the king and queen were advanced to the throne; and that, instead of the old oaths of supremacy and allegiance, the members should take the new oath, under the ancient penalty.

Most of the commons complied with this latter injunction; but the oath was refused by several lords, as well spiritual as temporal. The Non-juring prelates were Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Turner, bishop of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester;

38 *The History of* ENGLAND.

cester; and Frampton, of Gloucester. The temporal peers, who refused the oath, were the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the lords Griffin and Stawel.

Sancroft was a timorous and pusillanimous man, and acted a very inconsistent, and even ridiculous part, during the whole affair of the Revolution. Thomas and Lake, who died soon after, as well as the primate, never came to the house of lords.

When the other five withdrew from the parliament, they thought proper to recommend themselves by a show of moderation. With this view they proposed a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, by which all moderate Presbyterians might be reconciled to the church, and admitted to ecclesiastical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and presented by the earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the house for the pains he had taken.

From this time may be dated the rise of the Non-jurors, who rejecting the distinction of a king *de jure*, and a king *de facto*, as well as all other limitations, strictly adhered to the principle of the divine right of kings, and were the authors of all the plots and conspiracies, which were formed against the new government.

Nor

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 39

Nor was it long before the effects of their malice began to appear: for, about this very time, the king was informed by some intercepted letters, that the earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and others, had laid a scheme for restoring the abdicated monarch. In consequence of this intimation, he ordered all the conspirators to be instantly arrested, and committed to the Tower.

The lords thanked him for the care he had taken of their liberties, and begged he would secure all such as attempted to disturb the public tranquillity; but the commons apprehending, that this address allowed his majesty a power of dispensing with the habeas corpus act, thought proper to grant him that authority by a bill, which was accordingly introduced, and immediately passed the two houses without opposition.

This step was the more necessary, as a spirit of discontent began already to prevail in the army. The royal regiment of Scotch horse, which was quartered at Abington, almost totally deserted; and their example was followed by five hundred of Dumbar-ton's regiment, headed by five captains. These deserters immediately took the rout towards Scotland, and were supposed to have acted in concert with the earl of Arran and the other conspirators confined in

the Tower. They were instantly pursued by general Ginkle with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, and soon compelled to surrender. The only punishment inflicted on them was, that they were sent over to serve in Holland. The coronation-oath, which had hitherto been conceived in very obscure and ambiguous terms, being rendered more plain and explicit, that ceremony was performed with great pomp and magnificence on the eleventh day of April, the bishop of London officiating at the king's request, in the place of the primate, who had refused to submit to the new government.† Next day,

† The new form of the coronation-oath was as follows. "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?"

"I solemnly promise so to do."

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?"

"I will."

"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion, as by law established? And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges,

"as

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 41

day, the commons in a body waited on their majesties, with an address of congratulation, which was made in an elegant speech, delivered by Mr. Powle, their speaker,†

D 3

Wil-

“ as by law do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them ?

“ All this I promise to do.”

Then the king or queen, laying his or her hands upon the gospels, shall say, “ The things, which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God.”

The coronation-oath, it seems, had been altered for the use of king James ; the promise, contained in the original oath, for preserving the liberties of the people, having been left out, and its place supplied by a new engagement for maintaining the prerogatives of the crown. State.Tracts Vol. II. p. 49.

† The titles and honours, conferred on this occasion. were these : prince George of Denmark, now naturalized, was created baron of Oakingham, earl of Kendal, and duke of Cumberland ; the marquis of Winchester was made duke of Bolton ; William Bentinck, Esq; groom of the stole to his majesty, baron of Cirencester, viscount Woodstock, and earl of Portland ; viscount Falconberg, earl of Falconberg ; viscount Mordaunt, earl of Monmouth ; lord Montague, viscount Mount-Hermer, and earl of Montague ; John, lord Churchill, earl of Marlborough ; Henry Sidney, baron of Milton, and viscount Shepey in Kent : the viscounts of Waterford and Kellis, two Irish peers, were honoured with English titles of the same dignity : lord Coote was

ap-

William was very moderate in his principles of church government, and extremely averse to all manner of persecution. Conscious of the loyalty and attachment of his Protestant subjects, he was willing to grant them such indulgences, as might be consistent with the safety of the state. He proposed, by an act of comprehension, to unite the moderate Presbyterians to the body of the church; by a toleration to give ease and liberty to those of more scrupulous consciences; and by removing the obstacles arising from the act of uniformity, to admit, without exception, all his Protestant subjects into civil employments.

When he gave his assent to the bill for suspending the *habeas corpus* act, he recommended the establishment of a new oath in place of those of allegiance and supremacy: he expressed his hope, that they would take care, as well to exclude Papists, as to admit all his Protestant subjects, who should be found qualified for public offices: and he added, that such a measure would unite them the more firmly among themselves,

appointed treasurer and receiver-general to her majesty; the duke of Ormond, the earl of Devonshire, and marshal Schomberg, were elected knights of the garter; and Thomas Pilkington, lord-mayor of London, was gratified with the honour of knighthood.

selves, and strengthen their hands against the common enemy.

Accordingly, in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, a clause was inserted, by which the sacramental test was declared unnecessary for rendering any person capable of enjoying any office or employment: but this was rejected by a great majority in the house of lords. Another clause for the same purpose, but expressed in different terms, was proposed by the king's direction, and met with the same fate; though, in both cases, about six or seven lords protested against the resolution of the house.

These fruitless attempts in favour of the Dissenters, increased the jealousy of the Churchmen against William, who would have gladly compromised the matter by excusing the Non-juring clergy from the oaths to the government, provided the Dissenters might be exempted from the sacramental test; but this was esteemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the proposal was rejected.

The church party in the house of lords moved, that, instead of the clause, requiring the clergy to take the oaths, the king should be impowered to tender them; and
in

44 *The History of ENGLAND.*

in case of their refusal, they should be subject to the penalty mentioned in the act; because deprivation, or the apprehension of it, might drive them to despair, and engage them in conspiracies against the government.

This argument had no weight with the commons, who judged it indispensibly necessary, that the clergy should be obliged to take the oaths, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were trained up under their inspection. After a long and warm debate, all the indulgence that could be obtained, was a clause empowering the king to grant to any twelve clergymen, who should be deprived by virtue of this act, a third part of their benefices during pleasure.

Thus the ancient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated; the declaration of passive obedience and non-resistance in the act of uniformity was repealed; and the new oath reduced to its primitive simplicity, of swearing to bear faith and true allegiance to their majesties. The clergy were required to take the oaths before the first day of August, on pain of being suspended from their office for six months; and of being entirely deprived of all their ecclesiastical promotions, in case they did not take them
be.

before the expiration of that term. They generally complied, though with such reservations and distinctions, as exposed them to much censure and obliquy, as if they had taken them against their conscience.

Though the king had failed in his design of repealing the sacramental test, he resolved to indulge the Dissenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being presented by the earl of Nottingham, was, after some debate, passed into law, under the title of, An act for exempting their majesties Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws.

It enacted, that none of the penal laws should be construed to extend to those Dissenters, who should take the oaths to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of the thirtieth of Charles the second; provided, they held no private assemblies or conventicles with the doors locked, and pretended to no exemption from the payment of tythes or other parochial duties: that if they should be chosen into the offices of constable, church-warden, overseer, &c. and scruple to take the oaths annexed to such offices, they might execute the employment by a deputy; that all preachers and teachers in congregations of dissenting Protest-

testants, who should take the oath, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth fifth and sixth, and that part of the twentieth, which invests the church with power to establish rites and ceremonies, and to determine all points of faith, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against Non-conformists, as well as from serving upon juries, or acting in parish offices; but that, nevertheless, any justice of peace might require such Dissenters to subscribe the declaration, and to take the oaths; and, in case of refusal, might commit them to prison, without bail or mainprise.

The same liberty was granted to Anabaptists, and even to Quakers, on their promising, before God, to be faithful to the king and queen; and their solemnly giving their assent to those articles which others ratified upon oath: they were likewise to profess their belief in the Trinity and the holy scriptures. In a word, William was so steady in his principles of toleration, that he extended his indulgence even to the Catholics; and rejected the proposals of some zealots, who advised him to enact severe laws against Popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would expose England to the resentment of all the Papists of Europe, and might

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 47

might possibly produce a new Catholic league, which would convert the war into a religious quarrel; nor could he expect to find protection granted to the Protestants in Germany and Hungary, unless he showed some kind of lenity to the Catholics in England.

Of the king's three designs in favour of the Dissenters, that of their admission to civil employments had miscarried, but that of toleration had succeeded. The other scheme of comprehension for receiving the moderate Presbyterians into the body of the church, and making them capable of enjoying ecclesiastical benefices, met with the same fate, as that of their admission to civil offices. In consequence of the motion made by the bishops, when they withdrew from parliament, a bill was introduced into the house of lords for uniting their majesties Protestant subjects.

In the progress of this bill, two points were warmly debated. The first related to the ceremony of kneeling at the sacrament, which at last was given up in favour of the Dissenters. The other question was, "Whether a certain number of the laity should be joined in the commission, which the king was to grant to the bishops and others of the clergy, for preparing such a reformation of ecclesiastical affairs as might

“ might be the means of healing divi-
 “ ons, and correcting whatever was amiss
 “ in the constitution of the church?”
 This proposal was strenuously supported by
 several of the temporal lords; and when
 it was rejected, four peers entered a formal
 protest.

The bill having passed the upper house
 was sent down to the commons for their
 concurrence. By this time some mal-con-
 tents in the lower house had found means
 to form a party; and they now endeavoured
 to persuade their brethren, that the king's
 tolerating maxims would expose the church
 to the most imminent danger.

The commons, therefore, instead of pro-
 ceeding with the bill, presented an address
 to his majesty; in which they thanked him
 for the repeated assurances he had given,
 that he would maintain the church of En-
 gland as by law established; a church, they
 said, whose doctrine and practice had proved
 its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They
 observed, that the misfortunes of former
 princes had been chiefly owing to their en-
 deavours to disable the members of that
 church to contribute to the support and de-
 fence of the state. They therefore besought
 his majesty to issue writs for calling a con-
 vocation of the clergy, to be consulted in
 eccle-

ecclesiastical matters according to the ancient usage of the kingdom; and they declared that they would forthwith consider of proper methods for giving ease to Protestant Dissenters.

As this address contained a plain insinuation, that the church was in danger, it could not fail to give offence to his majesty. He, nevertheless, returned a civil answer by the mouth of the earl of Nottingham, professing his regard for the church of England, which he should always support with inviolable fidelity; recommending the Dissenters to their protection; and promising to summon a convocation as soon as he conveniently could.

Notwithstanding this soothing message, no farther progress was made in the bill. Those who wished it success, were afraid of discovering their sentiments, lest they should incur the suspicion of being enemies to the church; and those who were displeased with the present government, opposed it with all their might, hoping, by that means, to mortify the new sovereign.

No wonder therefore that while it was abandoned by one party through fear, and opposed by the other through resentment, it should totally miscarry. The king, however, was so bent upon the accomplishment

of this scheme, that it was next session resumed in another form, though with no better success.

The next object which engaged the attention of the parliament, was the settlement of a revenue for the support of the government.

Before the Revolution, the whole standing revenue of the state was in the power and disposal of the prince, and was usually called the revenue of the crown. There was no distinction of what was allotted for the king's use, and what was assigned for the service of the public. By this means the king might reserve as much as he thought proper for his own use, and employ no more than he pleased for the purposes of the nation.

Accordingly it appeared, that, after the Restoration, the public revenue had been constantly embezzled, and large sums had frequently been sunk, without being applied to the uses for which they were granted.

During the latter end of king Charles's reign, eleven hundred thousand pounds had been granted for the building of ships, while not so much as a single one was constructed : above two millions were given for supporting the triple league, which was presently employed in breaking it ; and twelve hundred thousand pounds were allotted for an actual war with France, when, at the same time,

time, the English were under every obligation to preserve a peace with that nation, which they accordingly continued to maintain.

In order, therefore, to prevent the misapplication of the public money, it was wisely resolved at the Revolution, that a separate income should be allotted for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity; and that the rest of the revenue should be entirely subjected to the command of the parliament. It was likewise determined, that these sums should be granted only from year to year, or at most, for a very short term.

This appropriation of the revenue, is one of the greatest advantages produced by the Revolution, and indeed the chief bulwark of the national liberties, as it deprives the crown of the power of disposing of the public money at pleasure, and obliges it to submit every article of expence to the examination of parliament; so that, without the frequent meeting of that assembly, the navy, the army, the ordnance, and all the wheels of government, must necessarily stand still. By this means, the measures of the court are continually canvassed with the utmost severity, and any impositions are discovered with so much

and facility, that the delinquents never can expect to escape condign punishment.

The better to introduce this important change into the government, the Commons, in the first place, voted, that the revenue was expired by the vacancy of the throne; and though the customs had been usually granted to the king for life, it was now resolved to grant no revenue but from year to year, or at most for a short term of years*. This expedient

* The annual revenue, clear of all charges in the collection, at the time of king James the second's abdication, was as follows :

1. Tonnage and poundage, with the wood-farm, coal-farm, and salt-farm.	} 600,000
2. The hereditary and temporary excise, with the additional nine-pence for the year, ending June 24, 1689.	} 666,383
3. Hearth-money — — —	245,000
4. Post-office — — —	65,000
5. Wine-licences — — —	10,000
6. Imposition on wine and vinegar, granted for eight years, ending June 24, 1693. — — —	} 172,901
7. The imposition on tobacco and sugar	148,861
8. The imposition on French linen, brandy, and silk — — —	} 93,710
9. The small branches (which before the crown-lands were sold, amounted to £ 130,000.) — — —	} 60,000

Total neat revenue of the crown 2,061,855

Annual

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 53

pedient the Whigs imagined would be the most effectual way of securing their liberties, and engaging the king to merit a renewal of the grant, by a just and popular administration.

Accordingly, when the revenue fell under consideration, they pretended, that, as it was burdened with many charges and anticipations, they had not time to examine the matter with due care; and they therefore granted it by a provisional act for one year

E 3 only.

Annual disbursements for the public services, during king James the second's reign.

1. Maintenance of seamen, and provision of naval stores	—	—	} 300,000
2. Ordinary of the navy and ordnance	—	50,000	
3. Guards and other disciplined troops	—	200,000	
4. Garrisons, contingencies, &c.	—	50,000	

Total expence 600,000

This being deducted out of the whole revenue, there remained for the civil list 1,461,885 l. a sum which rendered him independent of his parliament, enabled him to maintain a numerous army, and might have even been sufficient, had he conducted his scheme with common prudence, to effect his wicked design of enslaving the nation. Hence appears the necessity of limiting the grant of the public revenue to a short term, of appropriating certain sums to particular purposes, and of submitting the application of these sums to the inspection and discussion of parliament.

only. The civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, out of which were to be paid the appointments of the queen dowager, the prince and princess of Denmark, the judges, and mareschal Schomberg, whom the parliament had already gratified with the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, as a reward for the services which he had performed to the nation. It was likewise voted that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace.

William was piqued at the severe restraints which were laid upon the application of the public money. He considered them as marks of diffidence by which he was distinguished from his predecessors ; and thought it but an ungrateful return for the services which he had done the nation. The Tories did not fail to improve this opportunity to their own advantage. They endeavoured to persuade the king, that they themselves were the only true friends of monarchy ; and that all the Whigs, notwithstanding their present professions of loyalty and attachment, were strongly infected with republican principles. These suggestions unhappily had but too great an influence on the mind of William, who, from thenceforth, began to alienate his
affections

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 55

affections from those who were most zealously attached to his interest.

This jealousy, however, did not hinder him from proposing a very popular and salutary measure. He sent a message to the house of commons, importing, that he should be extremely willing to concur in any expedient they might deem necessary, for a new regulation, or total suppression of hearth-money *, which he understood was a grievous imposition on the subject; and this tax was accordingly abolished. The commons were so well satisfied with this instance of his majesty's generosity, that they presented an address of thanks, conceived in the warmest terms of duty and affection; assuring him at the same time, that they would take such steps in support of his crown, as would convince the world, that he reigned in the hearts of his subjects.

As a farther mark of their gratitude, they proceeded to consider of means for repaying the money which the Dutch had expended upon William's armament. The sum total
of

* By the hearth-books it appeared, that the number of houses in England and Wales, soon after the Restoration, was about 1,230,000; and allowing six persons, at a medium, to every house, the number of people at that time must have amounted to 7,380,000.

of their expences amounted to seven millions of guilders ; and the Commons granted six hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of this debt.

The jealousy which the king had conceived against the Whigs, was greatly increased by a new project concerted by that party. They introduced a bill into the house for regulating the militia in such a manner, as would have rendered it, in a great measure, independent both of the king and the lords-lieutenants of counties. As these were generally peers, the bill was rejected by the upper house : But this attempt confirmed the suspicion of the king, who began gradually to estrange himself from the Whigs.

The Tories had, by the mouth of Nottingham, made proffers of service to his majesty ; but alledged, at the same time, that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their conduct during the late reign, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert their endeavours in favour of the crown, lest they should expose themselves to the vengeance of their enemies.

The king, influenced by these suggestions, sent a message to the house, recommending a bill of indemnity, as the best means of putting an end to all controversies, distinctions,

tions, and occasions of discord. He desired it might be prepared with all possible dispatch, and with such exceptions only, as should be indispensably necessary for the vindication of public justice, the security of himself and his consort, and the safety and welfare of the public. The commons thanked his majesty for this instance of lenity and indulgence.

Nevertheless the design was defeated by the backwardness of the Whigs, who proceeded so slowly in the bill, that it could not be brought to a conclusion before the end of the session. They resolved to keep the lash over the head of their enemies, until they should find a proper opportunity for vengeance; they intended to make them smart severely for all those scenes of cruelty, injustice, and oppression, which had been acted under the former reign; and they hoped, in the mean time, by the fear of punishment, to restrain them from opposition.

The next object, which engrossed the attention of the parliament, was an act for settling the succession of the crown, according to the former resolution of the convention. A bill for this purpose was introduced into the lower house, with a clause disabling Papists from succeeding to the crown :

to

to which the lords subjoined, "or such as should marry Papills," absolving the subject, in that case, from allegiance.

The bishop of Salisbury, by the king's direction, moved, that the princess Sophia, dutchess of Hanover, and her posterity, should be named in the act of succession, as next Protestant heirs, after the issue of the king, and those of the princess of Denmark. This clause was readily admitted by the lords; but was strongly opposed in the lower house, not only by such as were secretly attached to the late king, but likewise by all the republican party. These last hoped, that, upon the death of the three persons named in the succession, the monarchy of England might easily be extinguished, and a commonwealth at last established.

The lords insisted upon their amendment; and several conferences were held between the two houses. At length the bill, after depending two months, was dropped for the present, in consequence of an event, which seemed, in a great measure, to dispel the fears of a Popish successor. This was the delivery of the princess Anne, who, on the twenty-seventh day of July, was brought to bed of a son, christened by the name of William; the king, and the earl of Dorset (representing his Danish majesty) standing
god-

godfathers, and the marchioness of Hallifax godmother. Soon after the young prince was created duke of Gloucester.

If we consider that the Scots had felt every species of tyranny and oppression during the two last reigns, it will not be thought surprising, that the Revolution should be accomplished with as much ease in that kingdom as in England. The estates having assembled, in consequence of a letter from king William, immediately agreed to the following vote: "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that king James the seventh, being a professed Papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary and despotic power; and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government, whereby he had forfeited the crown and the throne was become vacant." This vote was instantly passed into a law, and a commission granted to three of the members to go to
Lon-

60 *The History of* ENGLAND.

London, and make a tender of the crown to William and Mary, king and queen of England. At the same time the episcopal form of worship was abolished and the Presbyterian established in its place.

Some efforts, it is true, were made in favour of the abdicated monarch; but these were equally weak and unsuccessful. The duke of Gordon continued, for some time, to hold out the castle of Edinburgh; but was at last obliged to surrender at discretion. The viscount of Dundee, a brave and gallant officer, assembled a body of Highlanders, and declared for his old master. He attacked the regular troops of Scotland, though reinforced with some English regiments; and obtained a complete victory: but he lost his life in the action; and his death put an end to the whole enterprize. A letter, sent by James to the estates, met with so bad a reception, that his messenger was imprisoned, and afterwards, by way of contempt, was dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. In a word, the whole nation, a very few excepted, seemed to concur in renouncing allegiance to their old sovereign, and owning submission to the new government.

James, however, did not abandon all hopes of being one day able to re-ascend the throne

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 61

throne of his ancestors. He had been received with great cordiality by the French monarch, who assigned him the castle of St. Germain for his residence, supplied his household with every thing necessary, and promised to assist him, to the utmost of his power, in recovering the crown he had lost.

Notwithstanding these encouragements, James behaved in such a manner as gave no favourable idea of his spirit or understanding. He seemed to be little affected with the misfortunes he had suffered. He spent the greatest part of his time in hunting, or conferring with the Jesuits, of whose society he professed himself a member. All his faculties appeared to be swallowed up in bigotry and superstition. The pope supplied him with store of indulgences, while the Romans ridiculed him in pasquinades. The archbishop of Rheims, seeing him come from mass, said with a sneer: "there goes
" a very honest gentleman, who has sacri-
" ficed three kingdoms for a mass." In a word, as he was the object of hatred and aversion to his late subjects, so was he of contempt and derision to the rest of the world.

Considering the situation of England and Scotland, his only hope of success could de-

pend upon Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in the last kingdom, was strongly attached to his interest, but he thought proper to temporize with William, until he should receive reinforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by letter. At length, after some delays, the French succours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to sea by the beginning of March.

Lewis is said to have offered an army of fifteen thousand French soldiers to serve in this expedition; but James replied, that he would succeed chiefly by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly he contented himself with about five thousand French forces and a great number of experienced officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, six frigates, three fire-ships, with a sufficient number of transports. Lewis likewise supplied him with arms for forty thousand men more, upon his arrival in Ireland; furnished him with a large sum of money, superb equipages, store of plate, and every thing necessary for the camp and household. At parting he embraced him with great affection, saying; "the best thing I can wish you is that I may never see you again."

On

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 63

On the seventh day of March James took shipping at Brest, in company with the count D'Avaux, who attended him in quality of ambassador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the fourteenth day of the month, when he set sail, and on the twenty-second arrived at Kinsale in Ireland.

The English parliament were no sooner informed of this circumstance, than they presented an address to the king, expressing their detestation of the present invasion, and promising to defend his majesty's person and government at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. William had already discovered, that he had been egregiously deceived by Tyrconnel, and had issued a declaration, requiring the Irish to lay down their arms, and submit to the new government. He now assembled a fleet of thirty ships of war, and bestowed the command upon admiral Herbert ; but the armament was so retarded by unavoidable accidents, that it was not ready to sail till the beginning of April.

In a few days James repaired to Cork, where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who had collected an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse for the service of his master. Towards

the latter end of March he entered Dublin in a triumphant manner. He was met at the castle gate, by a procession of Popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. Next morning having assembled a council, he dismissed the earl of Granard, chairman, chief-justice Keating, and other Protestants, who had advised the lord lieutenant to acknowledge the new government. In their room he admitted the French ambassador, the bishop of Chester, colonel Dorrington, and by degrees, all the principal persons, who attended them in the expedition.

The same day he published five proclamations: the first seemingly in favour of his Protestant subjects, who had abandoned the kingdom, requiring them to return immediately on promise of his protection: and likewise commanding all persons, of what denomination soever, to join him against the prince of Orange. In the second, he returned his grateful acknowledgements to his Catholic subjects for their fidelity and attachment; and enjoined such as were not actually in his service, to retain and lay up their arms, until it should be found necessary to employ them for his advantage. The third contained an invitation to the subjects to supply his army with provisions. In the fourth he raised the value of the coin. And by the
fifth

WILLIAM III, *and* MARY II. 65

fifth he summon'd a parliament to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. At the same time he created the earl of Tyrconnel a duke, and bestowed the royal regiment on Dorrington in the room of the duke of Ormond.

The Protestants had so little faith in king James's promises, that they universally resolved to stand on their defence. The inhabitants of Londonderry, alarmed at the report of a general massacre, shut their gates against the regiment of the earl of Antrim, and determined to hold out to the last extremity. They acquainted the government of England with this resolution, as well as with the imminent danger, to which they were exposed; and they therefore implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition; but they did not receive any considerable reinforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments, arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham, and Richards.

By this time, James had reduced Coleraine, laid siege to Kilmore, and was advancing to Londonderry by long and hasty marches. Lundy, the governour, was apprized of this circumstance by George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the Protestants. Lundy ordered him to join colonel

66 *The History of* ENGLAND.

Grafton, and take post at the Long-causey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy : at last, however, he was overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retreat to Londonderry, where he endeavoured to persuade the governor to take the field, and come to a general engagement.

Lundy summoned a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted. After some debate it was resolved, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the regiments ; and that the principal officers should retire from the town, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable terms in consequence of their departure. A messenger was immediately dispatched to the enemy with proposals of a negociation ; and lieutenant-general Hamilton undertook that the army should keep at the distance of four miles from the town.

Notwithstanding this agreement, James advanced at the head of his troops, but met with such a warm reception from the garrison, that he was obliged to retreat to St. John's town in some disorder. The inhabitants and soldiers in Londonderry were no sooner informed of the resolution of the council of war, than they threatened immediate
vengeance

vengeance against those who had recommended such a weak and pusillanimous measure. Cunningham and Richards withdrew to their ships ; and Lundy concealed himself in his chamber. In vain did Walker and major Baker exhort him to maintain his government, and undertake the defence of the place : such was his cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to follow their advice ; and he was suffered, out of respect to his commission, to make his escape in disguise ; but he was afterwards seized in Scotland, from whence he was brought to London, to answer for his conduct.

After his departure, the inhabitants bestowed the government of the place upon Mr. Walker and major Baker ; but these gentlemen refused to accept the office, until it had been offered to colonel Cunningham, as the officer next in command to Lundy. He flatly rejected the proposal, and with Richards, returned to England, where they met with a gentler punishment than their treachery deserved : they were only dismissed from the service.

The two new governors, being thus obliged to undertake the office, began to prepare for a vigorous defence. They instantly formed the townsmen into different regiments, amounting in all to seven thousand
men,

68 *The History of* ENGLAND.

men, commanded by eight colonels, and three hundred and thirty-three inferior officers. But notwithstanding this numerous garrison, they laboured under many and great disadvantages. The place itself was but poorly fortified; their cannon, which consisted only of twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted; they had not one engineer to direct their operations; they had hardly any horse for making a sally; the garrison was composed of persons totally unacquainted with military discipline; they were destitute of provisions; and they were besieged by a king in person, at the head of a formidable army, conducted by experienced officers, and supplied with every thing necessary for a siege or a battle.

On the twentieth day of April, the trenches were opened, and the batteries began to play upon the town. Several attacks were made by the besiegers, and as many sallies by the besieged, in both which the latter had the advantage; and they would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had they not been afflicted with a contagious distemper, added to the calamity of want and famine. They were even tantalized in their distress; for they had the mortification of seeing some ships, which had brought supplies from England, prevented from sailing
up

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 69

up the river by the batteries which the enemy had erected on both sides, and by a boom which they had thrown across the channel.

At last a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of major-general Kirke, who had abandoned his late master, and was now employed in the service of William. He found means to inform Walker that he had troops and provisions on board for his relief, but that it was impossible to sail up the river; that, nevertheless, he would land a body of troops at Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Iniskilling, which amounted to three thousand foot, and two thousand cavalry: that he daily expected six thousand men from England, where they had been embarked before he set sail: that he hoped, in the mean time, they would continue to exert the same noble and heroic resolution which they had hitherto displayed: and that he would soon come to their assistance in spite of all the opposition which could be made by the enemy.

Encouraged by these assurances, they collected fresh spirits, and determined to hold out to the last extremity; and as major Baker was now dead, they bestowed his place upon colonel Michelburn, who acted thenceforth as colleague to Mr. Walker.

James,

James, intending to return to Dublin, in order to be present at the parliament, conferred the command of his army on the French general Rosene, a cruel and inhuman ruffian. Provoked at the obstinate resistance of the garrison, he threatened to reduce the town to ashes, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, unless they would immediately submit at discretion. The governor treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order forbidding any person, on pain of death, to talk of a surrender.

They had now consumed the last remains of their provisions, and were obliged to live on the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, dried and salted hides; and even this loathsome food began to fail them. Rosene, finding them altogether inflexible, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the Protestants of that country, by driving them under the walls of Londonderry, and suffering them there to perish with hunger.

The bishop of Meath, hearing of this design, remonstrated to James against the barbarous intention, and besought him to prevent its being carried into execution. James pretended that he had already ordered his general to abstain from such cruel proceedings: but it soon appeared with what sincerity

city his orders had been given. Rosene executed his threats with such savage barbarity as is really shocking to human nature. He detached several parties of dragoons, who, after stripping all the Protestants for thirty miles round, drove these unhappy people like cattle before them; without even sparing the decrepid old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women big with child, others just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour.

Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven, like so many devoted victims, under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, instead of answering the intended purpose, produced, as might naturally be expected, a quite contrary effect. The besieged were so enraged at this act of barbarity, that they determined to perish rather than submit to such a savage. They erected a gallows in view of the besiegers, and sent a messenger to the French general, declaring, that they would hang all the prisoners whom they had taken during the siege, unless the Protestants were immediately dismissed.

This menace, seconded by a remonstrance from the prisoners, produced a negociation, in consequence of which the Protestants were allowed to depart, after having been confined
three

72 *The History of* ENGLAND:

three days without tasting food. Some hundreds were destroyed by famine or fatigue; and such as lived to return to their own houses, found them plundered and sacked by the Papists; so that the greater number died with hunger, or were massacred by the straggling parties of the enemy: yet these very people had, most of them, obtained protections from James, who thus observed his solemn engagements with his usual fidelity. The inhabitants of Londonderry, however, derived some advantage from this cruel expedient. They found means to intermix, among the Protestants under the walls, about five hundred of their useless people, who easily passed unobserved in the crowd; and they procured, in exchange, some strong and able men from among their number.

The garrison of the place was now reduced from seven thousand to five thousand seven hundred; and these were reduced to such extremity of want, that they began to think of feeding on each other. One gentleman in particular, who had kept himself in good plight, while all the rest were become mere skeletons, began to be apprehensive for his personal safety; and observing some soldiers survey him with a greedy eye, he thought

thought proper to conceal himself for the greater security.

Mr. Walker, fearing that these discouragements might at last overcome the resolution of the garrison, convened them in the cathedral, and, in a spirited discourse, endeavoured to animate them to a steady perseverance. He reminded them, that the eyes, not only of all the Irish Protestants, but even of the whole English nation, were fixed upon their conduct; and that, after having made such a noble defence, they had no reason to doubt, but that God would send them a speedy relief.

Nor was it long before they received the wished for succour. General Kirke, apprized of their extreme necessity, had ordered three ships to sail up the river at all hazards. These were the *Montjoy* of Londonderry, and the *Phoenix* of Coleraine, both laden with provision, and under the convoy of the *Dartmouth* frigate. The *Montjoy* advancing with full sail, broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James was so discouraged by the success of this enterprize, that they raised the siege the

74 *The History of* ENGLAND.

very next night; and retired with the utmost precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men in the attempt.

Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was persuaded to embark with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their majesties; by whom he was received with that honour and respect, which was so justly due to his distinguished valour.

The people of Inniskillin were no less remarkable than those of Londonderry for the noble stand which they made in defence of the Protestant cause. They raised a regiment, consisting of twelve companies, and bestowed the command upon Gustavus Hamilton, whom they likewise appointed their governour. They proclaimed William and Mary, whose title they determined to maintain against all opposition.

The lord Gilmoy having besieged the castle of Crom, in the neighbourhood of Inniskillin, the inhabitants of that place threw succours into the fort, and obliged the enemy to abandon the enterprize. A detachment of the garrison, under lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, made an excursion into the enemy's country, took and demolished the castle of Anghor, and returned home with a considerable booty. Several other

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 75

skirmishes passed between them and the Irish; in all of which they still had the advantage. On the day preceding the relief of Londonderry, they attacked and defeated six thousand Papists at Newton-Butler; and took their commander Marcarty, commonly called, lord Moncashel.

The Irish parliament having met at Dublin, agreeable to James's declaration, he addressed them in a formal speech, in which he thanked them for their zeal and loyalty; expatiated at great length on the generosity of the French king, who had afforded an asylum to him, his queen and his son, and had now enabled him to visit his dominions in person; insisted upon executing his design of establishing liberty of conscience, as the most effectual means of promoting the happiness and welfare of his people; and promised to concur with them in making such laws, as might tend to the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

Sir Richard Neagle, attorney-general, being chosen speaker of the commons, moved for an address of thanks to his majesty; and that the count D'Avaux should be desired to offer their grateful acknowledgements to the most Christian king, for the friendly assistance he had given to their sovereign. This address being framed,
G 2 with

with the concurrence of both houses, a bill was introduced to recognize the king's title, to express their abhorrence of the prince of Orange's usurpation, as well as of the defection of the English.

Next day James published a declaration, addressed to all his loving subjects in the kingdom of England. He there complained of the many false and invidious reports, which had been raised against his person and government; insisted on his own impartiality in preferring his Protestant subjects to places of trust and profit; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redressing their grievances, and indulging them with liberty of conscience, promising that he would take no step without the consent and concurrence of parliament; offering a free and full pardon to all persons who should abandon his enemies, and join him in twenty-four days after his landing in Ireland; and charging all the blood that might be spilt, upon those who should continue to persevere in rebellion.

With what sincerity he made these professions, soon appeared from his subsequent conduct; and as both houses were chiefly filled with Catholics, they were extremely ready to concur with him in all his arbitrary and illegal measures: the rather, as these very measures evidently tended to
their

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 77

their own advantage, and to the ruin and destruction of the Protestants.

During the Irish rebellion in 1641, many estates had been granted to Protestants, upon condition of their giving assistance towards the suppression of that insurrection; and it was chiefly owing to the vigorous efforts of these adventurers, that the rebellion was at last suppressed. At the same time as all the rebels were deprived of their lands, some of them were sold by the crown to Protestants at very reasonable, and some times at very high rates. Soon after a bill was passed in the English parliament, entitled "The act of settlement," securing the Protestants in the possession of the estates which they had thus acquired, and their right to which was universally held to be good and valid.

Notwithstanding this security, a bill was now introduced into the Irish parliament, repealing the act of settlement, depriving the Protestants of the lands they had obtained, and restoring them all to the original possessors. Even the son of Sir Phelim O'Neal, the noted rebel and murderer, retrieved his paternal fortune. This iniquitous bill was framed in such a manner, as to violate every principle of justice. No distinction was observed between those who

had acquired estates by a legal title, and such as obtained them on unjustifiable pretences, of which, perhaps, some instances might have happened; no allowance was made for improvements; no provision for Protestant widows; the possessor and tenants were not even permitted to remove their stock and corn. In a word, whatever Protestant possessed an estate, which, before the rebellion, had belonged to a Papist, was now obliged to restore it to that Papist, or to his descendant.

When the bill was sent up to the house of lords, the bishop of Meath opposed it with equal spirit and ability. After demonstrating the extreme injustice of the bill in whatever light it was considered, he thus concluded: "My lords, there was either an
 "Irish rebellion in 1641, or there was no
 "rebellion: if there was none, then we
 "have been very unjust in keeping so many
 "innocent persons so long out of their
 "estates; and God forbid that I should open
 "my mouth in defence of so gross and glaring an iniquity. But what shall we say
 "to his majesty's royal father's declaration,
 "in his Icon Basilike, where he frankly
 "owns, that there was a rebellion; and in
 "consequence of that opinion, passed an act
 "securing those in the possession of their
 "estates,

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 79

“ estates, who should adventure money for
“ the suppression of it : nay, what shall we
“ say to the two bills introduced into this
“ house, the one by an honourable lord, the
“ other by the Commons, both of which ac-
“ knowledged the same rebellion. I take
“ it then for granted that there was a re-
“ bellion ; and if there was, it was either a
“ general or a partial rebellion. If it was a
“ general rebellion, then all were guilty,
“ no one can pretend to be restored to his
“ estate, farther than the king shall think
“ proper to grant him that favour. If
“ it was a partial rebellion, some discri-
“ mination ought surely to be made be-
“ tween the innocent and the guilty : the
“ former should be restored, the latter ex-
“ cluded. But here is a bill which makes
“ no distinction between the innocent and
“ the guilty, both of whom are to share the
“ like fate : the latter to enjoy the same in-
“ dulgence with the former. And can your
“ lordships believe, that this proceeding is
“ just and reasonable, when it is known that
“ a Court of Claims has been erected for the
“ trial of plaintiffs ; that several persons
“ have put themselves upon the proof of
“ their innocence ; and, after a fair and full
“ hearing of all that could be urged in their
“ favour, have been adjudged guilty ?”

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the force and evidence of the bishop's arguments, supported by an address in behalf of the purchasers under the act of settlement, the bill received the royal assent; and almost all the Protestants in Ireland were entirely ruined.

In order the more effectually to compleat their destruction, and totally extirpate the Protestant religion, an act of attainder was passed against all persons of that persuasion, whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against those, who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, who did not acknowledge king James's authority, or who corresponded with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the first day of August in the preceding year. By this clause of corresponding with rebels, or, in other words, with any of the subjects of the three kingdoms, except the Irish Catholics, all the Protestants in Ireland, who could write, were fairly attainted; for as the packets between London and Dublin had been regularly continued, they had corresponded, as usual, with their friends in England.

When this bill of attainder was presented to the king for his assent, which, like a cruel tyrant, he readily gave, the speaker of the
Commons

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 81

Commons told him, " that some were condemned upon such evidence as satisfied the house, and all the rest upon common fame." The number of Protestants attainted by this act, amounted to almost three thousand, including two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, twenty-eight viscounts, two viscountesses, seven bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergymen; all of whom " were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture."

The severity of this act exceeded even that of the famous proscription of Rome during the last triumvirate; for more persons were condemned in the little kingdom of Ireland, than were proscribed at that time through the vast extent of the Roman empire. And, to render the blow still more fatal and destructive, the people subjected to this cruel punishment, were cut off from all hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal; for, by a clause in the act, the king's pardon was deemed invalid, unless inrolled before the first day of December; and by a subsequent law, the parliament of Ireland was declared independent of that of England.

Nor was James less arbitrary in the executive, than in the legislative part of his government.

vernment. All vacancies in public schools were supplied with Popish teachers. The pension granted from the Exchequer to the university of Dublin, was stopt; the vice-provost, fellows, and scholars were ejected; the furniture, plate, and library were seized, without the least colour or pretext, and in direct violation of the king's promise to maintain them in the possession of their rights and privileges. He converted the college into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into prisons: Moore, a Popish priest, was nominated provost; one Maccarty of the same persuasion was appointed library-keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a Catholic seminary. When bishoprics or benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the king ordered the profits to be paid into the Exchequer, and suffered the cures to lie totally neglected. The money arising from this fund was chiefly employed in the maintenance of Popish priests and bishops, who grew so insolent under this indulgence, that in many places they forcibly seized the Protestant churches.

Some ships arriving in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was issued, discharging the Protestants to assemble in any place of worship or elsewhere, on pain of death. By a second they were ordered to deliver up their
arms

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 83

arms both offensive and defensive, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Lut-terel, governor of Dublin, published an ordinance by beat of drum, commanding the farmers to bring their corn for his majesty's service, within a limited time, otherwise he would cause them to be hanged before their own doors; and by another, all the Protestants of a certain district were enjoined to depart to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of immediate execution. Such were the mild and gentle expedients which James employed to regain the affections of his old subjects; and who, but the most obstinate and irreclaimable rebels, could ever have refused to submit to the government of so humane and merciful a prince!

William, however, was so little afraid of the success of this enterprize, that his chief attention was at present engrossed by the general interests of Europe. The great scheme, which he had formed, of a confederacy against France, began about this time to take effect. The princes of the empire, convened at the diet of Ratisbon, earnestly importuned the emperor to declare war against the French king, who had been guilty of numberless violations of the treaties of Munster, Osna-brug, Westphalia, Nimeguen, and the truce, invaded their country without provocation, and

84 *The History of* ENGLAND.

and proved himself an inveterate enemy, not only to the holy Roman empire, but to all the states in Christendom. They therefore entreated his Imperial majesty, to conclude a peace with the Turks, and come to an open rupture with Lewis; in which case they would consider it as a war of the empire, and assist their head in the most powerful and effectual manner.

The States-General issued a declaration against the common enemy, charging him with repeated violations of the treaty of commerce; with having involved the subjects of the republic in the persecution which he had commenced against the Protestants; with having plundered and oppressed the Dutch merchants in France; and with having denounced war against the state, without the least pretext of justice.

The Elector of Brandenburg declared war against France, as a power whose insatiable and unbounded ambition it was the duty of every prince to oppose. The marquis de Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, published a counter declaration to that of Lewis, who had proclaimed war against his master. He taxed the French monarch with having invaded and wasted the empire, contrary to every dictate of humanity, and every precept of religion, and even to the
express

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 85

express laws of war ; with having committed the most barbarous and savage acts of cruelty and oppression ; and with having excited the enemies of Christ to attempt the ruin and destruction of the empire.

The emperor concluded a league offensive and defensive with the States-General, by which the contracting parties were obliged to exert their whole united force against France and her allies. It was agreed, that neither side should consent to a treaty, without the knowledge and concurrence of the other : that no peace should be admitted until the treaties of Westphalia, Osnabrug, Munster, and the Pyrenees, should be fully vindicated : that, in case of a negotiation for a peace or truce, the transactions on both sides should be fairly communicated : and that Spain and England should be invited to accede to this treaty. In a separate article, it was stipulated, that if the Spanish king should die without issue, the States-General should assist the emperor with all their forces to take possession of that monarchy : that they should use their friendly endeavours with the electors, their allies, in order to raise his son Joseph to the dignity of king of the Romans, and employ their utmost force against France, should she attempt to oppose his election.

William, who, as he had been the original author, was still the chief conductor of this confederacy, found no difficulty in persuading the English to undertake a war against their old enemies and rivals. In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Hambden, the commons resolved, that, if his majesty should think proper to engage in a war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with the utmost vigour.

An address was immediately framed and presented to the king, desiring he would seriously reflect on the destructive methods, which had lately been employed by the French king, against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, particularly his present invasion of Ireland, and assisting the rebels in that kingdom. They expressed their hope, that the alliances already made, with such as might hereafter be concluded, would be sufficient to reduce the French king to such a condition, as would for ever render him incapable of disturbing the peace of Christendom, or prejudicing the trade and prosperity of England: and, in the meantime, they assured his majesty, that he might depend upon the assistance of his parliament, according to the vote which had passed in the house of commons.

The

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 87

The king was highly pleased with this address, which so exactly corresponded to his most ardent wishes. He assured the parliament that he entertained the most grateful sense of the confidence, which they reposed in him, and which he would make it his endeavour to merit by every part of his conduct: that as he would never, from motives of ambition, engage in any war, detrimental to the nation, so would he never decline any which evidently tended to its interest and advantage: that with regard to the present war, though no declaration had formally been made, he yet considered it as already declared, at least by the French monarch; and therefore in the English it was rather the effect of necessity than choice: that as he had formerly exposed his person, in rescuing the nation from Popery and slavery, he was still ready to encounter the same danger in defending it against its foreign enemies: and that as he had an entire confidence in their solemn assurances of effectual supplies, they might safely depend upon the faithful application of the money which should be granted for the prosecution of so necessary and important an enterprize.

Soon after a declaration of war was issued against Lewis, in which that monarch was accused of having unjustly invaded the ter-

ritories of the emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties concluded under the guaranty of the English crown; of having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Carribee islands, forcibly seized the province of New York and Hufon's bay, countenanced the seizure of English ships by French privateers, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on pretence of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations; and sent an armament to Ireland in support of the rebels in that kingdom.

Six days before this proclamation, the war was more effectually declared by a naval engagement between the French and the English. After the return of the fleet, which transported James to Ireland, Lewis sent another squadron, commanded by Chateau Renaud, as a convoy to some ships laden with arms, ammunition, and money for the use of the rebels.

Before they sailed from Brest, king William, apprized of their departure, detached admiral Herbert from Spithead, with twelve ships of the line, one fire-ship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was forced by stress of weather into Milford-

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 89

ford-haven, from whence he directed his course to Kinsale, on supposition that the French had departed from Brest, and that in all likelihood he should be able to come up with them on the coast of Ireland.

On the first day of May, he discovered them at anchor in Bantry-bay, and immediately resolved to engage them. The French fleet consisted of no less than twenty-eight ships of the line, most of them from sixty to seventy guns, together with five fire ships. They no sooner discerned the English, than they weighed anchor, stood out to windward, formed their line, bore down and began the action, which was maintained, for some time, with equal bravery on both sides, notwithstanding the great disparity of number.

Herbert tacked several times in hopes of gaining the wind of the enemy, or at least of bringing them to a closer engagement; but the French were so extremely cautious in bearing down, that he found it impossible to effect his purpose. At length, judging it imprudent to continue the combat with so superior a fleet, he stood off to sea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renaud tacked about and returned into the bay; and as the English ships had suffered so much in their

masts and rigging as to be unfit for further action, Herbert did not think proper to pursue them. Considering the great odds between the fleets, the English might think themselves happy in coming off with so little loss; for they had not above ninety men killed, and about two hundred and seventy wounded.

The French however assumed the honour of the day, and even represented it as a signal victory: though, with all their superiority in strength and number, they neither took nor sunk a single vessel. Father Daniel tells us, that the count de Renaud, lieutenant-general of the French navy, being sent to Ireland, with a considerable convoy of provisions and ammunition, and a body of three thousand men, received advice on the Irish coast, that admiral Herbert was approaching to attack him: that the two fleets (so this historian alledges) were nearly equal; that the count advanced to receive the enemy, whom he defeated and pursued, till night gave them an opportunity of escaping: that he returned to Brest, where he was welcomed with the loudest acclamations of joy, having landed his troops, defeated the English, taken seven Dutch vessels richly laden, brought back his own fleet in as good condition as he carried it

out,

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 91

out, and all this in the space of eleven or twelve days. Such is the pompous description which the French give us of this petty enterprize; and considering how few naval victories they have been able to obtain, it would be cruel to deny them the pleasure of boasting, even of this paltry advantage. It is reported, that when king William was informed of this engagement, he said, "that such an action was necessary in the beginning of a war, but would have been imprudent in the course of it."

Herbert retired to the isles of Scilly, where he hoped to meet with a reinforcement; but being disappointed in his expectations, he presently returned to Portsmouth. Soon after the king repaired to that place, as well to hasten the refitting of the fleet, as to distribute rewards among the officers and sailors, who had distinguished themselves in the action. He dined with the admiral on board the Elizabeth, declared his intention of creating him an earl, in consideration of his good conduct, bestowed the honour of knighthood on the captains Ashly and Shovel, and gave a gratuity of ten shillings to every private sailor.*

The

* About this time, the king purchased the earl of Nottingham's house at Kensington, which he converted into a royal palace. The sum paid for it was twenty thousand pounds.

The attention of the parliament was chiefly engrossed in raising supplies for the support of the war, in reversing attainders and judgments passed in the late reigns, and in calling to account the authors of the late illegal proceedings, as well as of the present mal-administration.

With regard to the supplies, besides what had been already granted, the sum of six hundred thousand pounds was given for the maintenance of the forces in Ireland, and seven hundred thousand pounds towards defraying the expences of the navy. These sums were raised by an additional excise of nine pence a barrel upon beer, ale, and other liquors; and by a tax upon all ground-rents for new buildings, upon new foundations, within the bills of mortality, except such as stood within the walls of the city.

The attainders reversed, were those of lord Russel, grandfather to the present duke of Bedford, (whose death in the act is declared murder) of Algernon Sidney, alderman Cornish, and lady Lisle.

The house appointed a committee of privileges, to enquire into the case of the earl of Devonshire, who, in the late reign, had been fined in thirty thousand pounds, for assaulting colonel Culpepper in the presence-chamber. The committee having made their
re-

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 93

report, the lords declared, that the court of King's bench, in over-ruling the earl's plea of privilege of parliament, committed a manifest breach of privilege; that the fine was excessive and exorbitant; against the great charter, the common right of the subject, and the law of the land; and that no peer of the realm ought at any time to be imprisoned for non payment of a fine to the king.

Mr. Samuel Johnson, chaplain to Ruffel, had written a pamphlet in the late reign, entitled, "An humble and hearty address to all the Protestants in king James's army." For this scandalous and seditious libel, as it was termed, he had been degraded, fined, scourged, and set in the pillory. This sentence was now reversed, and the author recommended to his majesty for some ecclesiastical preferment. He received a present of one thousand pounds in money, together with a pension of three hundred pounds a year for his own life and that of his son, who was likewise gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year; but the father could never obtain any ecclesiastical preferment.

Titus Oates applied to the lords for a reversal of the judgment given against him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions

nions of all the judges and counsel at the bar being taken on this subject, a bill of reversal passed the commons; but the lords added a proviso, importing, “ that till the
 “ matters for which Oates had been com-
 “ mitted should be heard and determined
 “ in parliament, he should not be received
 “ as a witness in any cause or court whatso-
 “ ever.” This proviso occasioned a dispute between the two houses, which was carried on with so much warmth and animosity, that no accommodation could be effected before the end of the session. Oates, however, was discharged from prison; and the lords, at the request of the commons, recommended him to his majesty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a comfortable pension.

The committee appointed to enquire into the cases of the state prisoners found that Sir Robert Wright, late lord chief justice, had been concerned in the cruelties exercised in the West, after the invasion of Monmouth; that he had been guilty of great enormities in the affair of Magdalen college; had been one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and one of the judges who had given it as their opinion in the case of Hales, that the king might legally dispense with the statutes of the kingdom.

They

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 95

They likewise found that Graham and Burton, who had acted as solicitors in the illegal prosecutions during the reign of Charles the second, had been guilty of divers iniquities ; particularly, of having been instrumental in taking away the lives and estates of those, who had suffered the loss of either, under colour of law, for the last eight years ; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and prosecutions of *Quo warrantos*, endeavoured the subversion of the Protestant religion, and the government of the realm ; and of having wasted many thousand pounds of the public money in the course of these illegal proceedings.

Had the barbarous Jefferies been still alive, he would certainly have been brought to that infamous death, which his numerous crimes so well merited. But death had already delivered him from the stroke of public justice. He died in the Tower soon after his commitment ; and his death is said to have been occasioned by the immoderate use of strong liquors. He expressed a deep repentance for the many crimes of which he had been guilty ; but with regard to that part of his conduct, which had exposed him to most censure, his behaviour in the West after the defeat of the duke of Monmouth, he

he solemnly declared in his dying moments, that all the cruelties, which he had exercised, were infinitely short of the king's orders ; and that he had even incurred his majesty's displeasure for having treated the rebels with too much lenity. This, however, could be no extenuation of his guilt, as no judge ought ever to obey the arbitrary commands of any sovereign : it only serves to confirm a fact, of which the impartial never entertained the least doubt, that James was of a cruel and barbarous disposition.

The parliament next proceeded to enquire into the misconduct of the present ministry. The lords having addressed the king to put the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dover-castle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a posture of defence, and to disarm the Papists, appointed a committee to examine the state of affairs in Ireland, which had been greatly neglected.

At the same time, they presented another address, desiring that the minute book of the committee for Irish affairs might be submitted to their inspection ; but the king declined to comply with their request : upon which the commons voted, that those, who had advised his majesty to refuse this satisfaction, were enemies to the kingdom. William, convinced of his error, allowed them

them to inspect the book, in which, however, they found very little for their purpose.

The house, disappointed in their expectations, resolved, that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring, that the succours for Ireland had been retarded by unnecessary delays; that the transports prepared by the government were not sufficient to convey the forces into that kingdom; and that several ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy for want of a proper convoy. As these neglects were chiefly imputed to the marquis of Hallifax, the question was put, whether or not they should address the king for removing him from his councils and presence: but it was carried in the negative by a small majority.

A few weeks before, Mr. Howe, vice-chamberlain to the queen, had moved for an address against such counsellors, as had been impeached in parliament, and betrayed the liberties of the nation. This motion was levelled at the marquisses of Hallifax and Carmaerthen, the latter of whom had been impeached of high-treason under the title of earl of Danby, and had likewise a considerable share in the present administration. The matter was debated with great warmth; and, in all likelihood, the

98 *The History of* ENGLAND.

motion would have been carried in the affirmative, had not those, who at first supported it, suddenly cooled in the course of the dispute

Before the adjournment, a bill was introduced into the house of lords, enjoining the subjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain seasons of the year. Against this bill a petition was presented by the silk-weavers of London and Canterbury, assembled in a tumultuous manner at Westminster. The lords refused to give them an answer on account of the violent manner in which they had applied. The weavers were persuaded to return home: care was taken to prevent the return of such unruly multitudes; and the bill was unanimously rejected by the lords.

This parliament passed an act vesting the presentations belonging to Papists in the two universities; those of the southern provinces being given to Oxford; those of the northern to Cambridge; and if any person under any pretext whatsoever, should presume, without the consent of the universities, to present to these benefices, he was to forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds. Courts of conscience were erected at Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle; which were of great advantage to inhabitants of the neighbour

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 99

ing counties ; and the court of the marches was abolished as an intolerable grievance to that country.

The Protestant clergymen, who had been obliged to abandon their benefices in Ireland, were declared capable of holding any living in England, on condition, that they should resign their English benefices, when restored to those which they had formerly possessed. The statute of Henry the fourth against multiplying gold and silver was now repealed ; and the subjects were permitted to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and silver from them ; provided that it should be brought to the mint and converted into money, the owners receiving its full value in current coin. These and four other bills of smaller importance being passed, the parliament adjourned to the eleventh day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth of October.

Notwithstanding the critical situation of affairs in Ireland, and the repeated applications made by the Protestants, the succours were so retarded either by the disputes among the ministers, or the negligence of those who had the management of the expedition, that king James had been six months in that kingdom before the embarkation of

the English army. At length eighteen regiments of foot and five of dragoons being raised for the service, a train of artillery provided, and transports engaged, the duke of Schomberg, to whom king William had given the command of the forces, set out for Chester, after having thanked the commons for the signal favours they had bestowed upon him, and received assurances, that they would still pay a particular regard to him and his army.

On the thirteenth day of August, he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, with about ten thousand foot and dragoons; the rest of the troops being detained somewhat longer for want of transports. He immediately took possession of Belfast, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrickfergus, which they resolved to defend. The duke, having refreshed his men, advanced to the attack of the place; and the siege was prosecuted with such vigour, that, in a few days the besieged were glad to surrender on condition of marching out with their arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs; and of being conducted to Newry, the next Irish garrison.

The rest of the troops being now arrived from England, the duke began his march through Lillsburne to Hillsborough, and encamp-

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 101

camped at Drummore, where the Protestants of the north had lately been routed by Hamilton; and from thence proceeded to Lough-brillane, where he was joined by the horse and dragoons of Inniskillin, who generously offered to act as his advanced guard. Upon their approach the enemy abandoned Newry, a very strong pass, after having first set fire to the town; but the general, being informed of this circumstance, sent word to the duke of Berwick, the commanding officer, "that if he continued to prosecute the war in that barbarous manner, no quarter should be given to the Irish."

Terrified by this menace, they abandoned Dundalk without doing any harm to the place; and Schomberg advancing thither, encamped on a low, damp ground, having the town on the south, and defended on every other side by hills, bogs, and mountains. His army, composed chiefly of raw and new-raised men, little inured to hardships, began already to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and scarcity of provision. Here he was joined by the regiments of Kirke, Hanmer, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he heard that Rosene lay, with about twenty thousand men, had he not been obliged to

wait for the artillery, which had not yet arrived at Calingford, the place of its original destination.

King James having assembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and approached, in order of battle, within two miles of his intrenchments; but the duke, conscious that they were greatly superior in number of horse, and that his own army was undisciplined, and reduced by death and sickness, prudently declined a battle, and in a little time the enemy thought proper to retire.

Soon after their departure, a conspiracy was discovered in the English camp, carried on by some French Papists, who had privately enlisted in the Protestant regiments. One of these, named Du Plessis, who had once been a captain in the French service, and obliged to fly the kingdom for murder, had written a letter to the ambassador D'Avaux, promising to desert with all the Papists in the three French regiments in Schomberg's army, provided he might obtain a pardon in his own country.

This letter being found, Du Plessis and five accomplices were seized, tried by a court-martial, and executed. About two hundred and fifty Papists being discovered in the French regiments, they were instantly secured, disarmed, sent over to England, and

and from thence to Holland, where they were set at liberty.

While Schomberg remained in his camp, he allowed the Inniskilliners to make excursions in the neighbourhood; nor had he any reason to repent this indulgence: for, on the twenty-seventh day of September, he received an account, that about a thousand of them, headed by colonel Lloyd, had routed a body of five thousand Irish; having, with very little loss on their own side, killed seven hundred of the enemy, and taken O'Kelly, their commander, with forty officers, and a considerable booty of cattle. The duke was so pleased with their gallant conduct, that he ordered all the Inniskillin troops to draw out, rode along their line with his hat off, and caused the Dutch guards and the Inniskillin foot to make three running fires; which were answered by the Inniskillin horse, by the cannon of Dundalk, and by the ships which lay off the mouth of the river.

The joy, arising from this success, was somewhat damped by the loss of St. James-town and Sligo; though one of the forts of the last place was gallantly defended by St. Sauveur, a French captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate for want of water and provision.

A rag-

04 *The History of ENGLAND.*

A raging sickness still continued to prevail in Schomberg's camp, and swept away great numbers of officers and soldiers ; so that in the beginning of next spring there was not above one half of those who went over with the general alive. He was blamed for his inactivity ; and the king, in two several letters, desired him to come to an engagement, provided an opportunity should offer : but considering that his own army was so reduced by death and sickness, and that the enemy were thrice his number, well-disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers, he did not think it prudent to hazard a battle, the loss of which might be attended with the most fatal consequences.

In the beginning of winter, he quitted his camp, and went into quarters, in hope of being reinforced by seven thousand Danes, who had already arrived in Britain. These auxiliaries were stipulated in a treaty, which William, on the fifteenth of August, had concluded with the king of Denmark.

The English were as unsuccessful at sea, as they had proved by land. Admiral Herbert, now advanced to the earldom of Torrington, having sailed to Ireland with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, made an attempt upon Cork ; but he was induced to abandon that enter-

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 105

enterprize, on a false intelligence that the French were advancing against him : and he was soon after obliged to put into Torbay, as most of his men were disabled by sickness. This misfortune was justly ascribed to the villainy of those who had the care of victualling the navy ; for the Dutch continued in perfect health during the whole expedition. The Dartmouth ship of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who, though they no longer ventured to send out squadrons, infested the channel with such numbers of privateers, as greatly interrupted the trade of England.

The affairs of the allies wore a more favourable aspect. King William had acceded to the grand alliance ; and at the same time concluded a new league with the States-General, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was agreed, that in case the king of Great-Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with six thousand infantry, and twenty ships of war ; and if the territories of the States should be invaded England should supply them with ten thousand infantry and twenty ships of war. Soon after William entered into a new treaty with the king of Denmark, in consequence of which, besides the seven thousand auxiliaries already arrived,

106 *The History of ENGLAND.*

arrived, the English army in Ireland was presently reinforced with an additional number of six thousand Danish foot and one thousand horse.

By this time, the lord Churchill, lately created earl of Marlborough, had been sent into Holland, in order to command the British auxiliaries in that service, to the number of ten thousand men. He forthwith joined the Dutch army, consisting in all of about sixty thousand, under the command of the sieur Waldec, who had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege, with a view to oppose the mareschal D'Humieres, who headed the French army amounting to no less than eighty thousand men.

The city of Liege renounced its neutrality, declared for the allies, and put into their hands a large convoy of powder, bombs, and money belonging to the enemy. Mareschal D'Humieres attacked the foragers of the allied army at Walcourt, on the fifteenth day of August; a sharp action ensued, and the French, after an obstinate resistance, were at last put to flight, with the loss of two thousand men, and several pieces of artillery.

The French, by their sudden invasion of Germany, had made themselves almost entire masters of the three ecclesiastical electorates. They had reduced Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiser-

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 107

Keiserswert, Philipsburgh, and Landau. They had blown up the castle of Heidelberg in the Palatinate, destroyed Manheim, and even thrown the ruins into the Rhine, and the Necker. They had burnt the cities of Worms and Spires, and demolished Frankendahl, with several other castles.

These conquests, as well as the French frontiers, were covered with a numerous army, under the command of the mareschal de Duras, assisted by some other generals of distinguished abilities. Nevertheless he found it difficult to maintain his ground against the different princes of the empire; who were strongly united by a sense of common danger, and were highly enraged at those shocking barbarities which the French committed. The Duke of Bavaria commanded one army of fifty thousand men; the elector of Saxony another of forty thousand; and the elector of Brandenburg, a third of fifty-one thousand.

The duke of Lorrain, at the head of the Imperial troops, invested Mentz, and after a siege of two months, took it by capitulation, the enemy having lost between two and three thousand men in the enterprize. The elector of Brandenburg having reduced Keiserswert, undertook the siege of Bonne, which the governor surrendered, after having made a long and obstinate defence.

While

While William endeavoured to unite the different powers of Europe against the French monarch, he laboured with no less assiduity to engage the affections of his own subjects, by a frank and open behaviour, which was far from being agreeable to his natural temper. He went to the races at Newmarket; he accepted of an invitation to visit the university of Cambridge, where he treated the members with great affability: he afterwards dined with the lord-mayor of London, bestowed the honour of knighthood on the two sheriffs, and on two of the aldermen, and even condescended so far as to become sovereign-master of the company of Grocers.

Mean while the period arrived, which the parliament had prescribed for taking the oaths to the new government. Some of the clergy sacrificed their benefices to their prejudices, or to their scruples of conscience, and absolutely refused to take the oaths. Of this number were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Gloucester, with some of an inferior order, who were commonly distinguished by the name of Non-jurors, and were, for this refusal, suspended from their functions.

The generality, however, readily took the oaths; though with such reservations
and

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 109

and distinctions as they themselves thought proper to make. Nevertheless, the whole body concurred in entertaining suspicions of William's religious principles: they represented him as an enemy to the church of England, and attached to the doctrines of Calvin, which he plainly espoused by confining his favour to such as were latitudinarians, in religion, and by abolishing episcopacy in Scotland.

Both parts of the accusation, however, were extremely unjust. William extended his favour to all those whom he believed to be friends to the liberty of their country; nor could he, without endangering the tranquillity of his government, have maintained episcopacy in Scotland, where the professors of that religion composed but a very inconsiderable part of the people, and were, besides, almost universally engaged in the interest of the abdicated monarch.

The Presbyterians, it is true, headed and instigated by the earl of Crawford, a man of a violent temper and of strong prejudices, treated the Episcopalians with much rigour and severity; and every circumstance of this nature was carefully reported in England, where it was improved by the suspended clergy to excite jealousies and discontents against the present government.

110 *The History of ENGLAND.*

But all the clamour, which was raised on the occasion, could not divert the king from prosecuting his scheme of comprehension. This subject he resolved to propose to the ensuing convocation; and in order to digest the matter for the consideration of that assembly, he now granted a commission under the great seal to ten bishops and ten dignitaries of the church,* authorizing them to meet from time to time, to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and the canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, as might conduce to the good order, edification and unity

* The names of the commissioners were: Lamplugh, archbishop of York; Compton, bishop of London; Mew, of Winchester; Lloyd, of St. Asaph; Sprat, of Rochester; Smith, of Carlisle; Trelawny, of Exeter; Stratford, of Chester; Stillingfleet, dean of Worcester; Patrick, dean of Chichester; Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, London; Meggot, dean of Winchester; Sharp, dean of Canterbury; Kidder, dean of Peterborough; Aldrich, dean of Christ-church Oxford; Jane, regius professor of divinity, in the university of Oxford; Hall, margaret-professor of divinity in the university of Oxford; Beaumont, regius-professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge; Montague, master of Trinity-college in the university of Cambridge; Goodman, archdeacon of Middlesex; Beveridge, archdeacon of Colchester; Batteley, archdeacon of Canterbury; Alston, archdeacon of Essex; Tennison, archdeacon of London; Fowler, prebendary of Gloucester; Scott, Grove, Williams, prebendaries of St. Paul's, London.

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 111

ty of the church; and tend to compromise all differences among the Protestant subjects of the kingdom.

It soon appeared, that some of these commissioners were very ill qualified for the office to which they were appointed. At the first meeting, the authority of the court was questioned by Sprat, bishop of Rochester, who withdrew in disgust, and was followed by Mew of Winchester, and the doctors Jane and Aldrich. Far from being willing to make the necessary concessions, they would not even consent to the smallest alteration.

They said, that too much indulgence had already been shown to the Dissenters in the toleration, which they had obtained; nor ought farther compliances to be made, to gratify a peevish and obstinate party, who would only become the more insolent and untractable: that such an attempt would divide the clergy, and bring the liturgy into disesteem with the people, as it would be a plain acknowledgement that it wanted correction: that the manner of preparing matters by a special commission was in itself illegal, as it tended to limit the power of the convocation, and to deprive it of the freedom of debate: and that they could not

conceive the present court in any other light than that of a new ecclesiastical commission.

The moderate party, on the other hand, alledged, that, if by a few corrections and explanations, all just satisfaction was given to the principal objections of the Dissenters, there was reason to hope, that many of them might be reconciled to the church; or if the prejudices of education should have so strong an influence on the present age, as to prevent this happy event, yet might such an indulgence have a greater effect on the rising generation: that if these condescensions were made in such a manner, as to own that the Dissenters had been in the right, such an acknowledgement would no doubt tend to the reproach of the church; but as they were made merely out of compassion to their weakness, the reproach fell on themselves and not on the church, who showed herself a true mother, by her care to preserve her children: that it was not intended to change the ordinary posture of kneeling at the sacrament; that was still to be the common and general posture; it was only proposed that such as scrupled to take it in that manner, should be allowed to receive it in another posture: that rites and ceremonies were in their own nature indifferent, and had frequently been declared to be such

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 113

the only necessity, to which they could pretend, arose from the authority of the church and state, which had enacted them; and it must certainly betray an unreasonable obstinacy to refuse an abatement in such matters in order to the healing the wounds of the church: that great alterations had been made in these particulars in all ages of the church; even the church of Rome, the most rigid and inflexible of any, had adopted some innovations; and changes had frequently been made in that of England since the time of the Reformation, particularly in the reigns of Edward the sixth, queen Elizabeth, James the first, and Charles the second: and that with regard to the manner of preparing these overtures, the king's supremacy was of little consequence, if he could not appoint a select number to digest such particulars, as he might think fit to lay before the convocation; nor did these proposals (for the commission pretended to go no farther than proposals) in the least infringe the freedom of that assembly, which still was at liberty to approve or reject whatever was offered to their consideration.

While the two parties were engaged in this altercation, the enemies of the government did not fail to embrace such a favourable opportunity of inflaming the minds of the

people. They insinuated that it was the intention of the ministry to abolish episcopacy, and establish Presbytery; and that the proposed alterations were only considered as a necessary step for effecting that purpose. The two universities, with more zeal than judgment, greedily swallowed this ridiculous report, and solemnly declared against all alterations, as well as against those who presumed to promote them. The malecontents exclaimed, that the church was in danger; for that was the word they thought proper to give out: they represented the king as an enemy to the hierarchy, and a friend to the Dissenters; and they exerted themselves with so much activity in the elections of members, that they easily procured a considerable majority.

The first step, taken by the convocation, discovered the spirit, with which they were actuated. The friends of the comprehension had proposed Dr. Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, and clerk of the closet to his majesty, as prolocutor; but the other party carried it in favour of Dr. Jane, who was esteemed the most violent churchman in the whole assembly. Addressing himself in a Latin speech, to the bishop of London as president, he asserted that the liturgy of England needed no amendment; and concluded.

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 115

cluded, by way of triumph, with the old declaration of the barons, "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari : " " we will not suffer the laws of England to be changed."

The bishop, in his reply, recommended candour, unanimity, and concord; reminded them of the promises of indulgence, which had been given to the Dissenters under the reign of king James; and advised them to make such concessions in things indifferent as might open the door of salvation to multitudes of straying Christians.

His advice, however, had very little effect. The lower house seemed determined to admit of no alterations; and next day the president prorogued them, on pretence, that the royal commission, by which they were to act, was defective in not having the great seal; and that a prorogation was necessary until that sanction could be procured. During this interval many arguments were used to soften the rigid and obstinate members; but all endeavours proved ineffectual.

At their next meeting, the earl of Nottingham delivered the king's commission to both houses, with a speech of his own, and a message from his majesty, importing, that he had summoned them out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the benefit

ness of the church of England, which formed so essential a part of the Reformation, was so well suited to the constitution of the kingdom, and should always enjoy his particular favour and protection : that he hoped they would chearfully contribute their endeavours towards the promotion of so desirable an end ; would divest themselves of all prejudice and prepossession ; and consider calmly whatever should be proposed to them : and that they might rest assured, that nothing should be offered to their consideration, but what should be for the honour, peace, and advantage of the Protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of England.

The bishops, repairing to the Jerusalem chamber, drew up a warm address of thanks to his majesty, which being sent to the lower house for their concurrence, met with a violent opposition. Amendments were proposed, a conference followed, and, after much altercation, they agreed upon a cold address, which was accordingly presented. The king, however, instead of expressing his resentment at this instance of disrespect, returned a civil and obliging answer.

The majority of the lower house, far from taking any steps towards a comprehension, converted all their attention towards the relief of their Non-juring brethren. Zealous
speeches

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 117

speeches were made in favour of the suspended bishops; it was even proposed, that something should be done to qualify them for sitting in the convocation. This, however, was a point of so much difficulty, that it could not, at present, be determined, and was therefore left to farther consideration. Disappointed in this quarter, they began to bethink themselves of some other business, which might divert their attention from the subject, for which they were assembled. With this view they took under cognizance some books lately published, which they believed to be of dangerous consequence to the Christian religion.

The president, finding that nothing was to be expected from the compliance of the house, did not think proper to make them any proposals; and the king suffered the session to be adjourned for ten years, by repeated prorogations. This, in effect, was doing them a favour; for ever since the year 1662, the convocation had continued to sit, but not to do business; so that they were kept in town at a very considerable expence, merely to assemble and read a Latin litany.

The parliament having met, agreeable to adjournment, on the nineteenth day of October, the king, in his speech to both houses, told them, that, after the repeated proofs
which

which he had received during the last session, of their duty and attachment, he had no reason to doubt of their present favourable dispositions ; that he considered it, however, as one of his greatest misfortunes, to be obliged, in the very beginning of his reign, to ask such large supplies, though merely for the prosecution of a war, which had been undertaken with their advice, and with the promise of their assistance ; and which owed not its rise to motives of ambition, but to the indispensable necessity of defending their religion and liberties, against the designs of their inveterate enemies : that, as he had formerly risked his life in rescuing the nation from the dangers which threatened, not only their liberty in particular, but the Protestant religion in general, of which the Church of England was one of the greatest supports, he was still willing to encounter the same perils in the same glorious cause ; that the only favour he had to ask of them at present, was, that what they intended to give toward the charges of the war, they would be pleased to grant without delay ; as next month there was to be held at the Hague, a general meeting of all the princes and states engaged in the confederacy, in order to concert measures for the ensuing campaign ; nor could he determine what propo-

sitions

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 119

It would be proper to make in that congress, until he should know the resolutions of his parliament: that, in order to satisfy them that all the sums which they had formerly granted, had been religiously applied to the purposes for which they were assigned, he had directed the accounts of the several disbursements to be submitted to their inspection, whenever they should think proper to call for them: and that he hoped, for the better quieting the minds of his good subjects, and engaging them all, with one accord, to promote the welfare and honour of the kingdom, they would concert and pass, with all convenient speed, a bill of indemnity.

This speech, which met with universal applause, was composed by the king himself; who, the day before it was delivered, produced it to the council, written with his own hand, telling them, “that he knew, that most of his predecessors were wont to commit the drawing up of such speeches to their ministers, who had generally their private aims and interests in view; to prevent which he had thought fit to write it himself in French, not being so great a master of the English as to be able to compose it in that language.” He, therefore, desired them to examine and correct it,

it, in order to its being translated into the latter tongue : but it was found so very accurate, that there was not a single phrase altered, except one, and that of no great consequence.

As the affair of Oates, and some other matters, which had occasioned violent disputes during the former session, were only suspended by the adjournment, the king, after having consulted both houses, thought proper to put a final period to them by a prorogation. He accordingly went to the house of peers, and prorogued the parliament till the twenty-third day of October, by the mouth of Sir Robert Atkins, the new speaker, the marquis of Hallifax having resigned that office.

When they met again the king referred them to his former speech ; and they unanimously resolved to assist his majesty in reducing Ireland, and co-operating with his allies abroad for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France ; for which purposes they voted a supply of two millions, to be raised by a land tax of three shillings in the pound, and additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate.*

The

* The duties upon these articles were : upon every hundred weight of coffee 5l. 12s. upon every hundred weight of cocoa-nut 8l. 8s. upon every pound of tea 5s.

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 121

The attention of the parliament, during this session, was chiefly engaged by the prosecution of the state prisoners and of the instruments of the late illegal proceedings, as well as by an examination into the misconduct of affairs in Ireland. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge against Burton, Graham, and baron Jenner, the last of whom had voted for the dispensing power, and had been concerned in the affair of Magdalen-college.

It was likewise resolved by the commons to impeach the earls of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Castlemain, Sir Edward Hales, and Obadiah Walker, of high-treason, for being reconciled to the church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the land.

A bill was ordered to be brought in to declare the estate of the late lord chancellor Jefferies forfeited to the crown, and attaint his blood ; but it met with such violent opposition, that the scheme was laid aside. As a terror, however, to all the late instruments of Popery and arbitrary power, the house agreed, that the pecuniary penalties, incurred by those persons, who had accepted any place, or exercised any office, civil or military, contrary to the laws against Popish recusants, should be speedily levied, and applied to the public service.

The lord Griffin, who had been ennobled about a month before the Revolution, being detected in maintaining a correspondence with James and his partizans, was committed to the Tower ; but as no evidence was brought against him, except some written papers, found in the false bottom of a pewter bottle, the lords thought proper to release him upon bail ; as they had lately resolved, that Algernon Sidney had been unjustly condemned, as nothing but writings had been produced against him.

A committee was appointed, by both houses, to enquire who were the authors and prosecutors of the murders of lord Russell, colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, alderman Cornish, and others ; and who were chiefly concerned in the writs of *Quo Warranto*, and the surrender of charters. This enquiry was levelled at Hallifax, who had concurred with the ministry and council in all the illegal proceedings, which happened during the latter years of king Charles ; and though no proof appeared upon which votes or addresses could be founded, that nobleman saw it necessary to retire from court, and quit the administration. He therefore resigned the privy-seal, and reconciled himself to the Tories, of whom he thenceforth became the chief patron

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 123

tron and protector. The privy-seal was put in commission, and given to William Cheney, Sir John Knatchbull, and Sir William Pulteney.

With regard to the affairs of Ireland, the commons presented an address to his majesty, desiring he would appoint commissioners to go over and enquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom. Schomberg, hearing that he had been censured for his inactivity, even in the parliament, thought proper to transmit to the king a satisfactory account of his conduct; and it appeared, that the miscarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to the treachery or avarice of John Shales, purveyor-general to the army.

The commons, apprised of this circumstance, entreated his majesty to order Shales into custody; to cause all his papers, accounts, and stores, to be seized; and to empower duke Schomberg to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The king informed them, that he had already sent orders to the general for that purpose: but the commons, not satisfied with this answer, requested his majesty to name those who had recommended Shales, as he had been employed in the same office under king James, and was even suspected of treasonable practices against the government.

William refused to grant their request, as Shales had been proposed in full council : yet he sent a message to the house, desiring them to recommend a certain number of commissioners to superintend such provisions and preparations as might be necessary for that service ; as well as to nominate certain persons, who should be furnished with his majesty's orders, to go over and examine the state of the army in Ireland. The commons were so influenced by this instance of condescension, that they left the whole affair to his own direction ; but still pressed him to name the persons who had recommended Shales. The king replied, that it was impossible for him to give an answer to this question ; and the commons seemed for the present to be satisfied. Complaints of mismanagement, however, poured in so thick and so numerous, that they resolved upon another address, to lay before him the ill conduct and success of his army and navy ; to desire he would discover the author of these miscarriages, and for the future employ none but unsuspected persons in the management of affairs.

At the same time, hearing that the late mortality among the seamen was owing to bad provisions, they ordered the victuallers of the fleet to be taken into custody, and
new

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 125

new commissioners were appointed in their place. Severe reflections were thrown out against the ministry. Mr. Hampden, the younger, expressed his surprise, that the administration should be composed of those very persons, who had been employed by king James, when his affairs were most desperate, to treat with the prince of Orange; and proposed an address, desiring the king to remove such persons from his presence and councils.

This motion was levelled at the earl of Nottingham, to whose place of secretary Hampden was supposed to aspire: but the proposal was not seconded, the court-members alledging, that James did not depute these lords to the prince of Orange, because they were attached to his own interest, but, on the contrary, because they had all along disapproved of his measures, and therefore possessed the good will of the nation; and of consequence were the most likely to be agreeable to his highness. The house, however, voted an address to the king, representing the misconduct of affairs in Ireland, and desiring, that the authors of the late miscarriages might be brought to condign punishment.

Soon after, a question was proposed in the house of commons, whether a person,

having a place at court, or any dependance on the king, should be a member of that house? The debate was warm and obstinate; but at last it was carried in favour of placemen, on supposition, that, by such an exclusion, the ablest men in the nation would be debarred the opportunity of serving, at the same time, their king and country.

Mean while the Whigs began visibly to decline in the king's affections; both on account of their backwardness to promote the public service, and of the great disregard which they shewed to his desire of having his revenue settled for life. He said, that his title was no more than a pageant; and that the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure. Nevertheless, they would not grant the civil list for more than one year.

Some of them began to think that William was naturally of an arbitrary temper. His reserved behaviour, in all probability, first gave rise to this opinion, which was afterwards confirmed by the arts of his enemies. The Scots, who had arrived in London to give an account of the proceedings in their parliament, were deeply infected with the same notion.

One

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 127

One Simpson, a presbyterian of that country, who acted as a spy for the earl of Portland, had contracted an intimacy with Nevil Payne, an active and industrious agent of king James; by which means he furnished the earl with such intelligence, as procured him some share of credit with that minister. This he employed in prejudicing the earl against the king's best friends; while, at the same time, he insinuated to the other party, that the court was become suspicious of their loyalty, and was even seeking evidence by which they might be prosecuted.

Sir James Montgomery, who had been a strenuous advocate for the Revolution, was too easily induced to believe these reports; and enraged, as was natural, at the ingratitude of the court, he and his friends were persuaded by Payne to engage in a correspondence with the abdicated monarch.

They demanded, as a preliminary, the establishment of presbytery in Scotland, and actually concerted a scheme for his restoration. They entered into a confederacy with Queensberry, and the other malecontents of Scotland; and they wrote to James for a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a body of three thousand men from Dunkirk. They found means to engage a great number of friends in England; and

and they almost persuaded the duke of Bolton and the earl of Monmouth to embark in the conspiracy.

Montgomery and Payne were the chief conductors of this scheme ; and they admitted into their councils, one Ferguson, who had been deeply concerned with all the enemies of the court in the two last reigns. In order to ruin William's credit in the city, they spread a report, that James would grant a full indemnity, separate himself intirely from the French interest, and be satisfied with a secret connivance in favour of his own religion.

The plot was discovered to the bishop of Salisbury, by Montgomery's brother. This gentleman wrote an anonymous letter to the prelate, acquainting him that he had an important discovery to make, provided he might be assured of not being produced as a witness, and that his friends should obtain a pardon. His first demand was granted ; his second, as being too general, was refused : but he was told that his friends might safely trust to his majesty's mercy.

Encouraged by this assurance, he waited on the bishop, and informed him that a treaty with king James was absolutely settled, and an invitation subscribed by the whole cabal. This paper, he said, was to
be

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 129

be sent to Ireland by the way of Flanders, as the direct communication was narrowly watched; and he proposed a method of seizing it before it went out of the kingdom. Williamson, who was employed to carry it, had obtained a pass for Flanders; and a messenger being sent in pursuit of him, seized him in bed at Dover, and secured his cloaths and portmanteau; but, on a very strict examination, nothing was found to justify the intelligence.

This disappointment was owing to the following circumstance: Williamson had previously delivered the paper to Simpson, who was to accompany him to Flanders, and who had happened to go a few miles out of the road, while the other went directly to Dover. He arrived at that place while Williamson was in the messengers hands; and, seeing the danger to which he was exposed, he repaired to Deal, where, hiring a boat, he passed over to France. He returned with large assurances of succour; and twelve thousand pounds were remitted to the conspirators, who promised to prosecute the scheme with the utmost vigour. All these circumstances were afterwards discovered: Sir James Montgomery withdrew to the Continent; Payne was apprehended in Scotland, and put

put to the torture ; but no confession could be extorted from him.

Mean while, Montgomery, the informer, seeing his credit blasted at court, and dreading the resentment of the other party, withdrew into France, and embraced the Catholic religion. The miscarriage of this discovery, destroyed the belief of all confederacies ; every report of that nature was regarded as a fiction of the ministry ; and the king himself, on this occasion, lost much of his former popularity.

The Tories still continued to undermine the interest of their enemies. They availed themselves of the ill-humour subsisting between the king and the Whigs ; and promised large supplies, provided the present parliament should be dissolved, and another immediately summoned. The opposite party, hearing of this intention, introduced a bill into the lower house, for restoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges ; by which they hoped to make themselves masters of all future elections ; and they inserted a severe clause against those who had been any way concerned in delivering up the charters.

The Tories exerted their whole force in opposing this bill ; and both parties seemed to vie with each other in courting his majesty.

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 131

jeſty. The Whigs promiſed every thing, if the bill ſhould be paſſed into a law; the Tories were equally liberal in their promiſes, if it ſhould be ſtopped, and the parliament diſſolved. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Tories, the bill paſſed the lower houſe by a great majority.

When ſent up to the lords, the firſt point debated was, whether a corporation could be forfeited or ſurrendered? the lord chief-juſtice Holt and two other judges, declared for the affirmative: the reſt for the negative. No inſtance, it was obſerved, could be produced farther back than the reign of king Henry the eighth, when the abbies were ſurrendered; and that was a matter of ſo much importance to the general welfare of the ſtate, that it could not be eſteemed a proper precedent for particular caſes.

The houſe, however, was ſo equally divided, that the bill paſſed by one voice only. Then both parties redoubled their applications to the king, who was long at a loſs what courſe to purſue. To paſs the bill was throwing himſelf into the hands of the Whigs, who had diſcovered ſuch a jealousy of kingly power by reſuſing to ſettle his revenue for life, and, were they entire maſters, might reduce his authority to a ſtill lower ebb. To reject the
bill

bill and dissolve the parliament, was placing such a confidence in the Tories as might be attended with the most fatal consequences, as nothing, he imagined, could overcome their prejudices with regard to the divine indefeasible right of kings.

In this dilemma, he formed, and had well nigh executed, a desperate resolution. He determined to leave the government in the hands of the queen, to whom he believed the Tories might prove faithful, and withdraw himself into Holland. He imparted this design to the marquis of Caermarthen, the earl of Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen, who pressed him with tears to lay aside this dangerous resolution.

He at length yielded to their importunities, and resolved to finish the Irish war in person. A strong party was immediately formed to oppose this design. Some were really apprehensive, that the climate of that country might prove fatal to his weak constitution: the Jacobites were afraid of James's being too hard pressed should William march against him in person: and both houses resolved to prepare an address against this expedition.

In order to prevent this remonstrance, the king came to the parliament, and formally acquainted them with his intention. "As
"I

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 133

* I have, (said he) already ventured my
“ life for the preservation of your religion,
“ laws, and liberties ; so I am still willing
“ to expose it once more, in order to secure
“ to you the quiet enjoyment of these bless-
“ ings.” Having finished his speech, he
prorogued the parliament to the second day
of April. On the sixth day of February,
he dissolved it, and issued writs for convok-
ing another on the twentieth day of March.

In the course of this session, the affair of
the princess of Denmark's settlement was re-
sumed and completed. The commons pre-
sented an address to the king, desiring he
would grant her a revenue of fifty thousand
pounds out of the civil list ; and his ma-
jesty readily complied with their request.
The eagerness, however, with which the
friends of the princess pushed this matter,
produced a coldness between the two sisters ;
and the subsequent disgrace of the duke of
Marlborough was supposed to be owing to
the part which his wife acted on this oc-
casion, she was lady of the bed-chamber,
and chief confidant to the princess, whom
she warmly exhorted to insist upon a se-
parate settlement, rather than trust to the
king's generosity.

About the same time, general Ludlow,
who, at the Restoration, had been excepted

out of the bill of indemnity, as one of the judges who condemned Charles the first, arrived in England, and offered his service in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly commanded under Cromwell. Many people were surprized, that he should venture on so bold a step, while he was still subject to an act of attainder, the reversal of which in his favour he had no reason to expect: but no one was more alarmed than Sir Edward Seymour, who had received a grant of an estate in Wilshire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, and who now began to tremble for his possession.

He represented to the house what an indelible disgrace it would fix on the character of the nation, should any of the murderers of that king, whom the church of England had so justly dignified with the title of martyr, be allowed to live in the kingdom. The house came readily into his opinion, and an address was immediately presented, desiring his majesty to issue a proclamation, offering a reward for apprehending general Ludlow.

This was accordingly published; but not till he had arrived in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay in Switzerland, where he died after an exile of thirty-two years. He wrote the memoirs of his own life,

COM.

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 135

comprized in two volumes; from which it appears, that he was a staunch republican, alike averse to the usurpation of Cromwell, and to the tyranny of Charles; and that his sole view in engaging in the civil war, was to establish a free and regular commonwealth.

Mean while the Whigs and Tories exerted their utmost endeavours in influencing the elections for the new parliament; and the latter obtained the victory. This advantage was owing to a very artful expedient which they employed; they published a list of all those who had voted for the corporation bill; and as that, if it had passed, would have bore extremely hard on most of the members of the corporate bodies, they, almost universally, declared against the Whigs.

The king seemed to be gradually falling into the arms of Tories. At the Revolution they had been totally excluded from the lieutenancy of London; but now a considerable number of them were admitted into the commission, by the art and intrigues of the bishop of London, the marquis of Caermarthen, and the earl of Nottingham. To humour the same party, the earls of Monmouth and Warrington were dismissed from their

M z

employ-

136 *The History of* ENGLAND.

ployments; and when the parliament met on the seventeenth day of March *, they had even sufficient interest to make the choice of speaker fall upon Sir John Trevor, one of the most violent of the whole faction, who had been appointed master of the rolls by the late king.

He was a man of cunning and intrigue, and engaged to secure a majority in the interest of the court, provided he should be furnished with the necessary sums for the purposes of corruption. William was averse to all such proceedings; but finding the degeneracy of the age was such, that it was impossible, by any other means, to conduct the machine of government, he was obliged to yield to the general current; and Trevor was appointed first commissioner of the great seal.

The king, in his speech to both houses of parliament, told them, that he still adhered to his resolution of going in person to Ireland: that he hoped they would make a settlement of the revenue, or establish it at present in such a manner, as to render it a fund, upon which the necessary sums for the public service might be immediately advanced: that he intended to send them an act of grace, with some few exceptions, which, while it shewed his disapprobation of the crimes of
some

some, would demonstrate his readiness to extend his protection to all his other subjects: that in this measure he had still another motive, namely, to cut off all colour of excuse for exciting disturbances in his absence, as he knew how busy some ill-affected men were in their endeavours to alter the established government: that he hoped they would think of some scheme for effecting an union with Scotland, the parliament of which had appointed commissioners for that purpose: that he proposed leaving the administration of affairs in the hands of the queen, and expected they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: that as nothing could tend more to forward the views of their enemies, than differences and dissensions in parliament, so nothing could contribute more effectually to promote the good of the nation, than their mutual concord and unanimity: that it was, therefore, their duty, as well as interest, to avoid all useless and unnecessary debates; and to dispatch the public business with the utmost expedition: and that he flattered himself with the agreeable hopes that they should soon meet again, to finish what might now be left unaccomplished.

The commons were so well pleased with this speech, that they immediately voted a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds;

138 *The History of ENGLAND.*

one million to be raised by a clause of credit in the revenue bills, the remainder by a poll-tax. They refused, however, to settle the revenue for life, but they granted the hereditary excise for that term; and the customs for the space of four years.

This short term they justly considered as the best security for the frequent meeting of parliaments. The king expressed some displeasure at this restriction, but when he was told that, though no jealousy was entertained of him, it might yet be imprudent to place the same confidence in his successors, and that if he would accept the grant for a term of years, and establish the precedent, he would be revered as the deliverer, not only of the present, but of future ages, he was pleased to yield his assent.

The Whigs and Tories had now declared open war against each other: and the question was, which of them should most effectually recommend themselves to the favour and confidence of their sovereign. The former introduced into the upper house, a bill for recognizing their majesties as the rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms; and for declaring all the acts of the convention parliament to be good and valid.

The Tories were involved in the utmost perplexity. They could not oppose the bill
with-

without forfeiting the interest which they had so lately acquired ; nor assent to it without openly renouncing their principles. They therefore resolved to steer a middle course. They admitted the first part of the bill without opposition, and even agreed that the acts of the convention parliament should be deemed good for the time to come ; but they refused to acknowledge them valid for that which was past. After a long and warm debate, the Whigs carried the point, and the bill was passed ; though with some alteration in the manner of expression. A protest, however, was entered by a great number of Tories, at the head of whom was the earl of Nottingham.

The same party in the lower house resolved to make a most vigorous opposition ; and in the mean time made some trifling objections that the bill might be committed for amendment : but their design was too early discovered by one of their faction, who happened to question the legality of the convention-parliament, as it had not been summoned by the king's writ of summons.

To this Mr. Somers, the solicitor-general, replied, that if it was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were

were guilty of high treason : that the laws repealed by it were still in force : that it was therefore their duty to return to king James : and that all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that parliament, were highly criminal. The Tories, whose principles, in cases of extreme necessity, can never be reconciled to common sense, were so struck with the force of these arguments, that the bill passed without further opposition, and immediately received the royal assent.

Soon after, the Whigs started another subject, which occasioned a still more violent contest. This was a bill requiring all their majesties subjects in office, to abjure king James, under pain of imprisonment. Though the clergy were excused from this test, the main body of the Tories opposed it with all their influence, while the Whigs supported it with no less vigour ; and both parties importuned the king to assist them in carrying their favourite point.

The Whigs represented, that such a security was absolutely necessary during a war, when none should be entrusted with public employments, but those who were attached to the present government : that the comprehensive terms in which the oath of allegiance was expressed, had given occasion to
much

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 141

much equivocation ; and had admitted many into public places of trust, who were far from being friends to the new establishment : that some of these had declared in company, and even asserted in print, that they considered themselves as bound by the oaths to obey the king only while he continued in possession ; but not to assist him, should his title be attacked : that it was therefore necessary to lay such people under stricter obligations, than any which they had hitherto incurred : and that, should the proposed test be happily established, those who took it would for ever be cut off from all hopes of a reconciliation with the late king, and would serve his present majesty with greater zeal and alacrity ; whereas, while they were still allowed to shelter themselves under the frivolous distinction of a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*, nothing could be expected from them, but the most cold and languid service, if not secret treachery and infidelity.

The Tories, on the other hand, alleged, that, should the bill be prosecuted, much time would be lost in useless debates and altercations : that those who opposed it, would grow sullen and refractory, and endeavour to defeat every other motion that might be made for the king's service : that
the

the strength of the two parties was so equally ballanced, that it was extremely doubtful what might be the issue of the affair : that even if the bill was carried, his majesty must expect to fall again into the hands of the Whigs, who would immediately return to their former practices against the prerogative : and that many of those, who were now well affected, or at least neutral, would be driven into the interest of the late prince, and become Jacobites from resentment.

The king, who was extremely unwilling that the public business should be interrupted by any unnecessary delays, was more inclined to hearken to the latter arguments ; and he accordingly sent a message to the house desiring them to drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more pressing. The Whigs were highly disgusted at this interposition of his majesty ; which indeed tended very much to his own disadvantage ; for it not only cooled the affections of the most faithful part of his subjects, but even lessened his influence with his allies on the Continent ; who were apt to believe that his interest in England was fast declining, and that his pretending to stop the debates on the abjuration-bill, was only

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 143

an artifice to save himself the affront of a public disappointment.

The earl of Shresbury was so much provoked, that he insisted upon resigning his office of secretary of state. The king, conscious that such a resignation would prove extremely detrimental to his affairs, employed Dr. Tillotson and others to dissuade him from executing such a dangerous resolution; but he lent a deaf ear to all their remonstrances; and would not even comply with the request of his majesty, who pressed him to keep the seals until he should return from Ireland.

The bill was discussed in the upper house with no less warmth, and with as little success. The parties were so equally divided, that it was impossible to come to any determination; and the only effect of all their debates was to draw out the session to an unusual length. An act was prepared for investing the queen with the administration of the government during the king's absence; but with this proviso, that she might, at any time, be controuled by an order from his majesty, while he remained abroad.

Another act was passed for reversing the judgment on the *Quo Warranto* against the city of London, and restoring it to its ancient rights and privileges. The bill of indemnity

144 *The History of ENGLAND:*

demnity too, which had been so earnestly recommended by the king, at length passed both houses. Of all the late instruments of arbitrary power, no more than thirty were expressly excepted ; * and of these very few were brought to the punishment, which their detestable conduct had so well merited.

On the twenty-third day of May, the king closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the supplies they had granted, told them, that though he only proposed to adjourn them for a short time, he yet did not intend they should meet, without some pressing necessity, till the beginning of winter ; and earnestly recommended to them the faithful discharge
of

* The persons excepted were, William, marquis of Powis ; Theophilus, earl of Huttington ; Robert, earl of Sunderland ; John, earl of Melfort ; Roger, earl of Castlemain ; Nathaniel, lord bishop of Durham ; Thomas, lord bishop of St. Davids ; Henry lord Dover ; lord Thomas Howard ; Sir Edward Hales ; Sir Francis Wythens ; Sir Edward Lutwych ; Sir Thomas Jenner ; Sir Nicholas Butler ; Sir William Herbert ; Sir Richard Holloway ; Sir Richard Heath ; Sir Roger L'Estrange, William Mollineux ; Thomas Tyndelsly ; colonel Townly ; colonel Lundy ; Robert Brent ; Edward Morgan ; Philip Burton ; Richard Graham ; Edward Petre ; Obadiah Walker ; Matthew Grone ; George lord Jefferies, deceased.

of their duties in their respective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be disturbed during his absence. The parliament was then adjourned to the second day of July ; and afterwards underwent several other adjournments and prorogations.

The better to secure the public tranquillity, the deputy-lieutenants were impowered to raise the militia, on any appearance of danger. All Papists were ordered to repair to their respective habitations, and not to stir from thence to the distance of above five miles without a particular licence. A proclamation was issued for apprehending certain disaffected persons, who were supposed to be concerting a scheme for exciting an insurrection ; and Sir John Cochran and Ferguson were actually arrested on suspicion of being concerned in such practices. On the day preceding the king's departure for Ireland, he called bishop Burnet into his closet, and seemed deeply affected with the critical situation of his affairs. He said that, for his own part, he was determined to finish the work he had undertaken, or to perish in the attempt. He only pitied the poor queen, repeating these words twice with great tenderness ; and hoped, that those, who loved him, would give her all the assistance in their power. He lamented the heats and

animosities, which prevailed in the nation; and expressed his concern, that the bishops and clergy, instead of allaying, endeavoured rather to inflame them. He said, that making a campaign was far from being disagreeable to him; and that he was sure, he knew much better how to manage an affair of that nature, than how to govern the English. And he added, that though fully convinced of the goodness of the cause, in which he was engaged, he was yet extremely loth to go against king James in person; because if that prince should either be killed or taken prisoner, it would give infinite pain to himself as well as to the queen.

On the fourth day of June, the king embarked for Ireland, accompanied by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester, and many other persons of distinction; and on the fourteenth of the same month he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirke, and other principal officers,

By this time, the English had gained several advantages over the Irish. Colonel Woolsey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong body of the enemy, amount-

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 147

amounting to nine thousand men, in the neighbourhood of Belturbat. Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-castle; and that of Charlemont, a strong fort of great importance, together with Balingargy, near Cavan, had been reduced.

It is remarkable, that upon the taking of Charlemont, which was starved into a surrender, a great number of women and children were found among the garrison. Schomberg, struck with the unusual appearance, asked the reason of keeping in a fortress so many useless mouths, which must necessarily consume the provisions. The answer was, that the Irish were naturally hospitable, and that they all fared alike; but that it was chiefly owing to this circumstance, that the soldiers would not stay in the garrison, unless they had their wives and mistresses: "a very good reason, no doubt," said the duke; "but there is surely more love than policy in it."

King William having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, repaired to Lillsburne, the duke's head quarters; and from thence to Hillsborough, where he published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country people. When some of his general officers recommended cautious measures, he declared, "that he

“ did not come to Ireland to let the grass
“ grow under his feet,” but would prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. He ordered the whole army to encamp at Loughbrillane, where, upon a review, he found it amounted to thirty-six thousand effective men well appointed. In a few days he advanced to Dundalk, and afterwards to Ardee, which the enemy had just abandoned.

James was so confident, that the disputes in the English parliament would prevent king William from leaving that kingdom, that the latter had been no less than six days in Ireland, before the other was apprized of his arrival. Of this, however, he was no sooner informed, than he committed the guard of Dublin to a body of militia commanded by Lutterel, and setting out with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which were now nearly equal to the English in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men, who remained in different garrisons.

As he was posted in a very advantageous situation, on the bank of the Boyne, he determined, contrary to the advice of his officers, to hazard a battle. They advised him to reinforce his garrisons, withdraw to the

the

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 149

the Shannon, and wait the issue of the naval operations. They reminded him that Lewis had promised, that he would fit out a powerful armament against the English fleet, and would send over a great number of frigates and privateers to destroy the English transports, as soon as their convoy should have left them.

James was deaf to all these arguments : he was resolved to risque an engagement : and even seemed pleased to think that he should have one fair battle for his crown. His front was defended by a deep river, by a rising ground, and by a morass ; and as he intended not to make but to receive the attack, the English could not fight him without manifest danger.

King William advanced to the opposite bank of the river in order to take a view of the enemy's situation ; and while he was employed in making this survey, he was exposed to the fire of two field pieces, which they had purposely planted against his person. At the first shot they killed a man and two horses close by his side ; and the second bullet, rebounding from the ground, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his cloaths and skin, and produce a considerable contusion. Mr. Coningsby, afterwards earl of that name, rode up,

clapped his handkerchief on the wound, and the king proceeded with his usual pace, without betraying the least emotion.

The enemy, observing some confusion among his attendants, immediately concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. Their whole camp rung with acclamations; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they meant immediately to pass it, and pursue the English army. The report flew instantly from place to place until it reached Dublin, from whence it was carried to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to express their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

The king having got his wound dressed, mounted again, and shewed himself to the whole army, in order to quiet their apprehensions. At night he summoned a council of war, and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed this design; but finding the king unalterably fixed, he proposed, that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slanebridge, and take post between the enemy and Duleck in order to cut off their retreat.

Had

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 151

Had this advice been followed, the war in all probability would have been finished in one campaign: but as it was rejected, Schomberg retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought him, he received it with an air of discontent, saying, "it was the first that had ever been sent in that manner." It was resolved, that, early in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg with the horse, should pass the river at Slane-bridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Old-bridge, and the left at different fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda.

Towards the close of the evening the cannon ceased on both sides; and the king gave orders, that the soldiers should be ready to march by break of day, and that all of them should take care to have green boughs in their hats during the action, the better to distinguish them from the enemy, who wore pieces of white paper. About twelve o'clock, the king rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, in order to take a short repose.

At six in the morning general Douglas, with young Schomberg, advanced towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river with little opposition. When they reached the farther bank, they found the enemy drawn

up

152 *The History of* ENGLAND.

up in two lines to a considerable number of horse and foot with a morass in their front ; so that Douglas was obliged to halt, until he received a fresh reinforcement.

This being come, the foot advanced to the charge through the morass, while count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to fall upon the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, wheeled about, and fled towards Duleck with the utmost precipitation ; yet not so fast but that they were overtaken in their flight by young Schomberg, who put a considerable number of them to the sword.

Mean while, king William's main body, composed of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, the Inniskillin foot, and four battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist high, under a general discharge of artillery. They were faintly opposed by a body of musqueteers who were posted behind some hedges and houses ; but these they soon repulsed, and several battalions landed.

Nevertheless, before they could form, they were vigorously attacked by a squadron of the enemy's horse ; and a strong body of their cavalry and foot conducted by general Hamilton, advanced from behind an eminence, to charge those who were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore.

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 153

shore. The infantry fled at the first onset; but the horse pushed forwards with such incredible fury, that many of the English were obliged to give way, and some of them even to repass the river.

Duke Schomberg, alarmed at this repulse, crossed the river in person, and putting himself at the head of the French regiments, pointed to the enemy, saying, "*Allons, messieurs, voila vos persecuteurs,*" "Come on, gentlemen, those are your persecutors." Hardly had he pronounced these words, when he sustained a violent onset from a party of king James's guards, which which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were mistaken for friends, by the French refugees, and allowed to ride up to the duke, who received two severe wounds in the head; but the French, perceiving their error, endeavoured to repair it by committing a greater: they rashly poured in their fire upon the enemy, while engaged with the duke, and instead of saving, shot him dead upon the spot.

The English were thrown into the utmost consternation by this accident; while the enemy recovered fresh spirits, and returned to the charge with redoubled ardour. They were just ready to fall upon the centre, when king
Wil-

William, having passed with the left wing, consisting of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillin horse, advanced to attack them on the right; they were so confounded at his sudden appearance, that they instantly stopped short, and then wheeling about, retreated to the village of Dunmore.

There they made such an obstinate resistance, that they repulsed the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person. They even obliged the Inniskilliners to recoil, and that whole wing would have been in the most imminent danger of being entirely routed, had not a detachment of dragoons, belonging to the regiment of Cunningham and Levison, alighted, and lined the hedges on each side of the lane through which the pursuers advanced. There they plied them so warmly, that they soon obliged them to desist from the chace. The horse, which were broken, had now time to recover their ranks, and returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn.

In this action, general Hamilton was taken; an accident which disheartened the Irish to such a degree, that they began to give way on all sides. He was presently brought to the king, who asked him, if he thought the Irish would make any farther resistance? "Yes, sir, replied Hamilton,
 " upon

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 155

"upon my honour, I believe they will;" William, surveying him with an eye of disdain, repeated "Your honour! your honour!" thereby intimating, that he had no title to use that term. Hamilton, it seems, had submitted to the new government, and had even been sent over to Ireland by the king to persuade Tyrconnel to acknowledge his majesty: but, instead of employing his influence for that purpose, he exerted his utmost endeavours to confirm that nobleman in the interest of James, and continued ever after to assist him in all his undertakings.

Mean while count Schomberg, who was now informed of his father's death, pursued the enemy with all that ardour and impetuosity, which a noble resentment inspires, and drove them several miles beyond the village of Duleck, covering the ground with their dead carcasses: nor did he desist, till the earl of Portland, by the king's express command, obliged him to return to the place where the foot had halted, and where they remained under arms the whole night.

William now saw how little credit was to be given to Hamilton's information; for that general was no sooner taken, than the Irish betook themselves to a precipitate flight; though the French and Swiss guards, who acted as auxiliaries, retreated in good order,

156 *The History of ENGLAND.*

order, and carried the king along with them. That prince had stood aloof during the whole action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and seeing the day irretrievably lost, retired to Dublin, without having made the least effort to collect his scattered forces.

His loss, in this action, is generally computed at fifteen hundred men slain, and several taken prisoners. Among the former were the lord Dongan, the lord Carlingford, Sir Neile O'Neile, and the marquis D'Hocquincourt. Among the prisoners there were few of any distinction except general Hamilton, who, it must be owned, behaved, during the whole action, with great courage and conduct, and even kept the victory in suspense, till he was wounded and taken.

Of the English there fell not above five hundred; a very inconsiderable loss for so great a victory, had it not been for the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who was killed in the eighty-second year of his age, after having equalled, in military fame, the greatest generals of the age in which he lived, and even the most renowned heroes of antiquity. He was descended of a noble family in the Palatinate, being the son of count Schomberg by his first wife, an English lady, the daughter of lord Dudley.

Forced

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 157

Forced to quit his country, on account of the troubles, in which it was involved, he commenced a soldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburg. He was raised to the dignities of mareschal in France, grandee in Portugal, generalissimo in Brandenburg, and duke in England.

He was even revered as the saviour of Portugal ; for had it not been for the important services, which he performed, that kingdom must have fallen under the yoke of Castile. As a reward, besides his dignities of count and grandee, he had a pension of five thousand pounds settled on him and his heirs. While he was engaged in the French service, he compelled king William, then prince of Orange, to raise the siege of Maestricht ; an exploit which contributed greatly to enhance his fame. He professed the Protestant religion. Naturally courteous and affable in his deportment, and yet possessed of an air of dignity, he at once engaged the affections, and commanded the respect of all who knew him. He was endued with an extensive genius, a nice discernment, a solid judgment, and an invincible fortitude ; nor was his probity inferior to his courage.

The brave Caillemote, who had attended the duke in all his fortunes while alive, was

not divided from him in his death. He now commanded one of the regiments of French Protestants ; and was mortally wounded in the first passage of the river. He was carried back to the English camp by four soldiers ; and though almost expiring, he with a chearful countenance encouraged those who were advancing to do their duty, crying out, *A la gloire, mes enfans ! a la gloire ! To glory, my lads ! to glory !* In the same action fell the celebrated clergyman, Mr. Walker, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of king James. He now attended king William as a volunteer ; and being shot in the belly died in a few minutes.

With regard to the king himself, though engaged in the heat of the battle, he received no hurt ; though he was once in very imminent danger, part of his boot having been carried off by the shot of a cannon. During the action he displayed every quality of a great and consummate general. He chose the field, regulated the attacks, drew up his army, charged the enemy at the head of his troops, supported his forces when they began to flinch, and behaved through the whole engagement with such conduct, courage, resolution, and presence of mind, as excited the admiration even of the Irish ;

who

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 159

who openly declared, "that, if the English would change kings with them, they would try the fortune of the day once more."

Both kings, however, incurred a considerable share of blame, for not improving their several advantages. William, it is said, by pushing on directly to Dublin, might have seized all the principal Papists; effectually secured Limerick, Galway, and other important places; struck the whole party with such consternation, as would have totally disabled them from making any farther resistance; and thus put a final and complete period to the war at one blow. James, it is alledged, might have collected his scattered troops, which were so little diminished in number, and by reinforcing his army from his numerous garrisons, have put himself in a condition to keep the field, and even to act upon the offensive.

Both princes were certainly the best judges of their own conduct, and of the motives by which they were influenced; and perhaps both of them were influenced by motives, which were both reasonable and praise-worthy. William might be restrained from making a hot pursuit by the fear of endangering the life or liberty of his father-in-law, by his aversion to shed more

blood than was absolutely necessary, and by the apprehension of driving the Irish to despair, and rendering them still more obstinate and irreclaimable. James might be convinced, by the reception he had met with, that he had so entirely lost the affections of his Protestant subjects, that he could never hope to reconcile them to his government, nor ever more to re-ascend the throne of his ancestors.

That these were William's motives is extremely probable, notwithstanding all that his enemies have alledged to the contrary. That these, or such as these, were James's sentiments is sufficiently evident from his subsequent conduct: for he no sooner arrived in Dublin, than he convened the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech resigned them to the will of the conqueror. He complained bitterly of the cowardice of the Irish; signified his intention of quitting the kingdom immediately; forbid them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city, after his departure, as such an action would certainly be imputed to him; and assured them, that, though he were obliged to yield to force, he would never cease, while he lived, to labour for their deliverance.

Next

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 161

Next morning he posted to Waterford, accompanied by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel and the marquis of Powis; having previously ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, in order to prevent a pursuit. He immediately embarked in a vessel, which, as if conscious of his approaching fate, he had caused to be prepared for him before the battle. At sea he fell in with the French fleet commanded by the Sieur de Foran, who advised them to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime sailer. James readily followed his advice, and arriving safely in France, returned to St. Germain's the place of his former residence.

He had no sooner left Dublin than it was abandoned by all the considerable Papists. The Protestants, being released, took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the bishops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take care of the government, and an account of these transactions was sent to king William, together with a petition entreating him to honour the city with his presence.

On the day after the battle of the Boyne, William sent a detachment, consisting of five battallions of foot, and four squadrons of dragoons, under the command of Mr.

162 *The History of ENGLAND.*

Mellionere, to invest Drogheda, the governor of which, despairing of all hopes of relief, surrendered the place without opposition. The king, at the head of his army, began his march for Dublin, and on the fourth day of July, encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of the capital. On the Sunday following he entered Dublin in a triumphant manner, and immediately repaired to the cathedral, where he heard an excellent sermon preached by Dr. King, afterwards archbishop of Dublin.

In the afternoon he returned to his camp, and next day published a declaration of pardon to all the common people, who either remained at home, or who having fled from their dwellings, should return to their places of abode by the first day of August, provided they delivered up their arms to such justices of peace, as his majesty should appoint: but with regard to those desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorized the depredations, which had been committed upon the Protestants, and rejected the gracious pardon offered to them in the king's proclamation published on the twenty-second of February, 1689; as his majesty was now in a condition to make them sensible of their error, he left them

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 163

them entirely to the event of war, unless by evident demonstrations of their repentance they should deserve his mercy, which should never be refused to those, who were truly penitent. On the tenth of the month, the king issued a proclamation, reducing, to its intrinsic value, the brass money, which James had coined, and which he had raised to three hundred times its real worth.

Mean while, the queen conducted the regency of England with great prudence and discretion. Her council was almost equally composed of Whigs and Tories, who, by their perpetual disputes, frequently disturbed the public business. She was filled with the utmost anxiety on account of her father's as well as her husband's life: she was menaced with an invasion by the French from abroad, and with an insurrection by the Jacobites at home.

Notwithstanding these alarming circumstances, she dissembled her fears, and exerted herself with uncommon spirit. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to depart from Brest, the earl of Torrington was ordered to repair to the Downs, and sail round to St. Helens, in order to collect such a number of ships as might enable him to defeat their designs. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day
of

of June, the earl, reinforced with the Dutch squadron, put to sea, with a view to oppose them, should they attempt to sail up the channel. Not that he thought himself sufficiently strong to hazard a battle with any prospect of success; for the enemy's fleet amounted to no less than seventy-eight ships of war and twenty-two fire ships, while the combined squadrons of England and Holland consisted only of six and fifty: but he had received positive orders from her majesty to risque an engagement at all adventures.

After the hostile fleets had been several days in a sight of each other, the earl of Torrington made a signal for battle, on the thirteenth day of June about eight in the morning. The Dutch squadron, which led the van, began the attack about nine; in about half an hour the blue division of the English encountered the rear of the French; but the red, which composed the center, under the command of Torrington in person, did not come up till ten o'clock: so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy; and though they behaved with great bravery, received considerable damage.

No sooner did the admiral perceive their condition, than, with his own ship and several

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 165

veral others, he drove between them and the French; and in that posture the fleet came to an anchor about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch ships were so much shattered, that he judged it imprudent to renew the fight: he therefore weighed anchor about nine o'clock, and with the tide of flood retired to the Eastward.

Next day it was resolved in a council of war to destroy the disabled ships, and endeavour to preserve the rest by a regular retreat. They were pursued as far as Rye: and an English ship of seventy guns, called the Anne, being stranded near Winchelsea, the enemy attempted to burn her; but the captain saved them that trouble, and set fire to her himself. A Dutch ship of sixty guns met with the same accident; and the French endeavoured to destroy her; but the captain defended her so bravely, that they were obliged to desist from the attempt; and he afterwards found means to get her off, and carried her safe to Holland.

In this action the English lost two ships, two sea-captains, and about four hundred men; but the loss of the Dutch was more considerable. Six of their line of battle were destroyed; Dick and Brackel, rear-admirals,

mirals, were slain, together with a great number of inferior officers and seamen.

The news of this defeat had no sooner reached London, than the fears of a descent created a general consternation, which immediately spread through the whole kingdom. The friends of the government were not wanting to their duty on this occasion. Addresses were presented to the queen, by the Cornish Tinnors, the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy of London, filled with the warmest professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties, as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition,

The queen herself behaved with equal prudence and resolution. She issued out proper orders for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the navy. She gave directions for raising the militia of the western counties, in order to oppose any attempts that might be made in that quarter. And to strike the greater terror into the conspirators with France, she issued a proclamation, for apprehending the earls of Litchfield, Aylesbury and Castlemain, the viscount Preston, the lords Montgomery and Bellasis, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Thorold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe,

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 167

thorpe, colonel Edward Sackville, colonel William Richardson, major Thomas Soaper, captain David Lloyd, William Pen, Edmund Elliot, Marmaduke Langdale, and Edward Rutter; accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons, to disturb and destroy the government; and of a design to join with her majesty's enemies in the intended invasion.

The troops being now assembled, a camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, near which the enemy's fleet continued to hover. The Jacobites gave out, that the only intention of the French was to bring back king James, and that they never meant to do any harm to the country; since, now that they had it so much in their power, they carefully abstained from every thing of that nature.

This report might have had some effect, if the French had not taken care to refute it. They made a descent upon a poor village, called Tinnmouth, and burned it with a few fishing-boats; but the militia pouring down upon them, they fled to their ships with the utmost precipitation. They published, however, in all their gazettes, as pompous an account of this petty enterprize, as if the village had been a large trading town,

town, and all the fishing-boats so many merchant-ships.

The attention of the queen was not solely confined to the internal security of the kingdom: she likewise took the necessary measures for appeasing the resentment of the Dutch, who complained loudly of the earl of Torrington's conduct in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner till next session. He was then brought into the house of commons, and allowed to make a speech in his own defence.

He alledged, that the preparations for the fleet were too late; that the fleet was ill-manned, and much inferior to the French; and that he laboured under great want of intelligence. He said, that though an engagement was contrary both to his own judgment and that of the whole council of war, he yet could not decline it, on account of the positive orders, which he had received from her majesty. He gave the house a draught of the line of battle, the better to explain the arguments he used in his own vindication; and begged leave to deliver his defence in writing: a favour which was readily granted. He reflected upon the counsellors in general, and strongly insinuated

ated, that the earl of Nottingham was the person, who had suppressed some material intelligence, or had not sent it to him with sufficient expedition.

His case produced long debates in the upper house, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal; at length he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commissioners of the admiralty; an act having passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vested in those commissioners. The president of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement.

The trial is said to have been conducted with much partiality; but as none of the particulars were ever published, it is impossible for any one, at this distance of time, to discover the truth of such a reflection. The earl was acquitted: but the king dismissed him from his service; and the Dutch exclaimed against the decision of the judges.

William had taken all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, from which he was informed, not only of the design projected by the French, of burning the English transports, but likewise of the undertaking of one Jones, who had engaged to assassinate his majesty.

Tyrconnel, in one of his letters, addressed to queen Mary at St. Germain's, says ; " I now look upon all as lost, and have " no hope in any thing, but in Jones's business." In another, he acquaints her, that Jones was come ; that his proposition was more feasible, and more likely to succeed than ever : but that his demands were high, " if any thing could be high for such " a service." In a third he informs her, that Jones had been introduced to the king, who, at first, seemed to disapprove of the proposal : but, adds he, " we have now so " satisfied him both in honour and conscience, that every thing is granted that " Jones requires."

The attempt, it seems, was to have been made before William undertook the Irish expedition. Deagle, the attorney-general of Ireland, it is said, had furnished the assassin with money, and a poignard of a particular composition ; as also with a bible bound without a common prayer, which he was to carry in his pocket ; that so, if he was seized, he might pass for a Dissenter. The attempt, however, was never made ; and Jones was supposed to have eloped with the money, which he had already procured, without incurring the guilt and danger, by which he was to merit the whole reward.

What

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 171

What rendered these suspicious circumstances still more probable, was an advertisement sent, a few days before the king's departure for Ireland, to the marquis of Carmarthen, acquainting him, that one Jones, an Irishman, who had served so long in the French and the Dutch armies, as to be able to speak both these languages, was to be sent over to murder the king. A paper, containing all the particulars of the discovery, was drawn up, and intended to be published; but the king and queen, unwilling to fix such an indelible stain on the memory of James, caused it to be suppressed.

On the ninth day of July, William sent general Douglas with a strong detachment of horse and foot towards Athlone; while he himself, having committed the government of Dublin to brigadier Trelawny, proceeded with the rest of his army to Inchequin, in his way to Kilkenny. Douglass, having summoned Athlone to surrender, colonel Grace, the governor for king James, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, saying, "These are my terms." The general, provoked at this insolent reply, resolved to attack the place, which was naturally strong, well-fortified, and supplied with a numerous garrison. An inconsiderable breach was made,

when Douglass, having lost his best gunner, and being further informed, that Sarsfield was advancing with an army of fifteen thousand men to the relief of the besieged, thought proper to abandon the enterprize.

The king continued his march to the westward; and at Carlow detached the duke of Ormond to take possession of Kilkenny, where that nobleman entertained him in a very splendid and magnificent manner at his own castle, which had been preserved untouched by count Lauzun. While the army lay at Carrick, major-general Kirke was sent with a party to Waterford, the garrison of which, consisting of two regiments, capitulated on condition of marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon, which commands the river of Waterford, submitted on the same terms. Here the lord Dover, and lord George Howard, who had been excepted from the bill of indemnity, petitioned and obtained the king's pardon.

On the first day of August, William, being at Chapel-Izard, published a second declaration of mercy, confirming the former, and even extending it to persons of superior rank and station, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would, by the twenty-fifth

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 173

fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, submit to the government, and be content to live, during the present rebellion, in such towns or cities, as his majesty should assign them. This offer of indemnity had very little effect upon the Irish, who were entirely governed by their priests, and whose minds were so elated by the news of the victory, which the French had obtained over the English and Dutch fleets, that they every moment expected to hear of such a descent being made upon England, as would oblige William to return to that kingdom.

The king, indeed, had actually returned to Dublin, with a view of going over to England : but being informed, that the designs of his domestic enemies were discovered and defeated, that the fleet was refitted, that the French had done very little harm on the coast, and had already retired to Brest, he altered his resolution, and determined to invest Limerick, which Monsieur Boisseleau commanded as governor, and the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers.

On the ninth day of August, the king, having advanced with his whole army into the neighbourhood of the place, sent a trumpeter to the town with a summons to

174 *The History of ENGLAND.*

surrender * ; Boisseleau replied, that he imagined the best way to gain the good opinion of the prince of Orange, would be a vigorous defence of the town, which his majesty had entrusted to his care. Before the siege was regularly formed, colonel Sarfield, with about six hundred horse and dragoons, passed the Shannon in the night, attacked the king's train of artillery on its way to the camp, defeated the troops that guarded it, split the cannon, destroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned in safety to Limerick.

The news of this disaster occasioned great murmurs in the English camp, where some high words passed between the young duke of Schomberg and the earl of Portland, who was supposed to have neglected to furnish the train with a sufficient guard for its protection. The trenches, however, were opened on the seventeenth of the month, and a battery was raised with some cannon brought from Waterford. The siege was pro-

* When the army encamped before Limerick, the Danes, who were posted to the left, found an old fort built by their ancestors, of which they were not a little proud, and from which they fired some field-pieces upon the Irish, to remind them, probably, that they were now besieged by the descendants of their ancient conquerors.

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 175

prosecuted with great vigour, and the place defended with no less resolution. The king exposed himself like the meanest soldier, and one day had a very narrow escape. Riding up to Cromwell's fort, in the thickest of the enemy's fire, just as his horse was entering the gap, he was stopped by a gentleman, who came to speak with him; when, in that moment, a cannon-ball struck upon the very spot, and covered the bystanders with dust.

At length his majesty ordered the troops to make a lodgment in the covered way or counterscarp, which was accordingly attacked with great fury: but the assailants met with such a warm reception from the garrison, that they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men, either killed on the spot or mortally wounded. This disappointment, together with the badness of the weather, induced the king to abandon the siege, after having been engaged in it for the space of twenty-one days.

Accordingly the heavy baggage and cannon being sent away, the army decamped and marched towards Clonmel. William, having appointed the lord Sidney, and Mr. Coningsby, lords-justices of Ireland, and entrusted the command of the army to count Solmes, set sail from Duncannon, with prince

176 *The History of ENGLAND.*

prince George of Denmark, and next day arrived in King's road, near Bristol, from whence he repaired to Windsor.

On the twenty-first day of September, the earl of Marlborough arrived in Ireland, with five thousand English troops, to besiege Cork and Kinsale, in conjunction with a detachment from the main army, according to a scheme which he had formerly proposed to the king.

Having landed his men, though with some opposition, in the neighbourhood of Corke, he was joined by five thousand men under the duke of Wirtemberg, between whom and the earl, as being both lieutenant-generals, a dispute arose about the chief command; the prince bluntly claiming it on account of his superior rank; the earl, as being the elder officer, and as he likewise commanded the troops of his own nation, while the prince only headed auxiliaries.

The matter, however, was at length compromised by the interposition of La Mellionere, and the two generals commanded by turns. The trenches being opened, the batteries played with such fury, that a breach was soon effected. Colonel Mackillicut, the governor, demanded a parley, and hostages were exchanged; but next morning he rejected the conditions that were offered,

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 177

ferred, and hostilities were renewed with redoubled vigour.

The duke of Grafton, who served in this expedition as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died universally lamented as the most promising of all king Charles's children. The besiegers preparing for a general assault, the garrison thought proper to surrender, and yielded themselves prisoners of war. Besides the governour and colonel Ricaut, there were found in the place the earls of Glencarty and Tyrone.

Animated by this success, Marlborough detached brigadier Villiers with a party of horse and dragoons to summon the town and forts of Kinsale; and next day advanced with the rest of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by storm; but Sir Edward Scot, who commanded the other, sustained a siege of ten days, and then surrendered on honourable terms. By the reduction of these maritime places, all communication between France and the enemy, on this side of the island, was effectually cut off, and the Irish were confined to the province of Ulster, where they could not subsist without great difficulty,

The earl of Marlborough having accomplished this important enterprize in thirty-seven

seven days, returned with his prisoners to England, where he was received by their majesties with that respect and honour, which were so justly due to his distinguished merit. The king was even heard to say, "that he knew no man so fit to be a general, who had seen so few campaigns."

Mean while, count de Lauzun, who commanded the French auxillaries in Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and sent so deplorable an account of his situation to the court of France, that transports were sent over to bring home the general and his forces, These ships were dispatched, however, before the siege of Limerick was raised: for had the French court been informed of that circumstance, and how much the state of affairs was now altered, they would probably have countermanded their first orders.

But Lauzun was really heartily weary of the service, and wanted to get rid of it at any rate. He therefore embarked his troops immediately; and left the command of the Irish forces to the duke of Berwick, though it was afterwards transferred to Mr. St. Ruth. Lauzun was disgraced at Versailles for having abandoned the cause before it was desperate; and Tyrconnel, who attended him in his voyage, applied to the French

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 179

French court for a farther supply of officers arms, cloaths, and ammunition, for the Irish army, which, he said, if thus encouraged, would still continue to support the cause of king James.

Mean while, they formed themselves into separate bodies of Freebooters, who, by a new name, were denominated Rapparees; and as they were intimately acquainted with every corner of the kingdom, they plundered and pillaged the inhabitants with equal violence and impunity. The troops of king William, instead of affording protection to the distressed peasants, enjoyed their ease in quarters, or imitated, as was strongly suspected, the rapine of the enemy; so that, between both, the poor people were miserably harrassed, and many of them reduced to absolute beggary.

By this time, the grand alliance, which William had formed against France, was farther strengthened by the accession of the duke of Savoy, who renounced his neutrality, concluded a league with the emperor and the king of Spain, and openly engaged in the general confederacy. He had no sooner taken this step, than Catinat, the French general, invaded his territories with an army of eighteen thousand men, defeated him in a pitched battle, reduced Saluces,

180 *The History of ENGLAND.*

Saluces, Savillana, Villa-Franca, Suza, and distributed his forces in winter-quarters, partly in Provence, partly in the Dutchy of Savoy, which, one town excepted, was now entirely subjected to the dominions of France.

The duke, finding that he had nothing to expect from the friendship of the emperor and the Spanish monarch, solicited assistance from the States-general and king William, to whom he sent an ambassador to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne of England.* William, glad of the accession of

* The address, which the ambassador made to William, though perhaps not free from flattery, is yet replete with such noble and manly sentiments, and conceived in such strong and nervous language, that the reader, we imagine, will not be displeased to see it at length.

“ Sir,

“ His royal highness, my master, does by me congratulate your majesty's glorious accession to the crown.

“ It was due to your birth, and deserved by your virtue, and is maintained by your valour. Providence had designed it for your sacred head, for the accomplishment of its eternal decrees, which, after a long patience, do always tend to raise up chosen souls to represent violence and protect justice. The wonderful beginnings of your reign are most certain presages of the blessings which heaven prepares for the uprightness of your intentions; which have no other scope than to re-

flow

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 181

of so important an ally, received his compliment with great civility, and promised to employ his utmost endeavours in restoring him to the possession of his dominions.

The allies in their general congress at the Hague had resolved, that the army of the states under prince Waldec, should make head against the forces of France, commanded by the duke of Luxemburg in Flanders ;

VOL. XXVIII.

Q

while

store this flourishing kingdom to its first greatness, and break the chains under which Europe groans.

" This magnanimous design, worthy of the heroë of our age, filled his royal highness with inexpressible joy ; but he was constrained to conceal it in the secret of his heart ; and if at last, he has been free to own it, he is obliged to the very name of your majesty for it, since that alone has made him conceive some hopes of liberty, after so many years of servitude.

" My words, and the treaty which I have signed at the Hague with your ministers, do but faintly express the passion, which my master has to unite himself in the most inviolable ties to your service. The honour, Sir, which he has to be related to you, has tied the first knots of this union : the infinite respect, which he has for your sacred person, has, as it were, knit them faster : and the generous protection, which you are pleased to grant him, will, without doubt, make them indissoluble. These are the sincere sentiments of his royal highness ; to which I dare not add any thing of mine ; for how ardent so ever my zeal may be, and how profound the veneration, which I bear to your glorious achievements, I think I cannot better express either, than by a silence full of admiration."

while the elector Brandenburg should watch the motions of the marquis de Boufflers in the Moselle; but before the troops of Brandenburg could be assembled, Boufflers took post between the Sambre and the Meuse, and maintained a free communication between his own army and that of Luxemburg.

Prince Waldec being informed, that the latter general intended to pass the Sambre between Namur and Charleroy, in order to ravage the Spanish territories, decamped from the river Pieton, and detached the count of Berlo, with a body of fifteen hundred horse, to observe the motions of the enemy. The count was attacked by the French army near Flerus, and slain; and his troops, though reinforced by two other detachments under the counts de Flodrop and Webbenum, were hardly able to rejoin the main army, which continued all night in order of battle.

At break of day they were encountered by the French, who were nearly double their number; and after a very obstinate engagement, were obliged to give way, leaving about four thousand six hundred men dead upon the spot. The enemy took about four thousand prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery, but they purchased the victory at a dear rate; for their loss was equal,

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 183

equal, if not greater than that of the Dutch.

The Dutch infantry performed such feats of gallantry and heroism, as have seldom been equalled, and never exceeded. After they were abandoned by their horse, they continued to sustain the charge of the whole French army; and though attacked, at once, in front, flank, and rear, they yet continued firm, unbroken, and impenetrable.

They suffered the enemy's horse to approach within pistol shot of them, and discharged their pieces with such a steady and determined aim, that the whole Squadron seemed to sink to the ground at once, not above thirty being left alive; and this course they so constantly observed, that at length they laughed at their enemies, and challenged them to advance. The French on the other hand, were so intimidated by the execution done upon their companions, that they fled as soon as the Dutch began to present their musquets; nor durst they attempt to make the least pursuit, but suffered the Dutch to retreat with the utmost composure. The duke of Luxemburg himself, was, at once charmed, and confounded with their bravery. He frankly owned, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy, "Prince Wadec," said he, "ought

184 *The History of ENGLAND.*

“ ever to remember the French horse ; and
“ I shall never forget the Dutch infantry.”

The States-general repaired their loss with such incredible dispatch, that the French reaped no advantage from the victory they had gained. The prince being reinforced with the five English regiments, nine thousand Hanoverians, ten thousand from the bishopric of Liege and Holland, joined the elector of Brandenburg ; so that the confederate army consisted of fifty five thousand men ; and directed their march by the way of Genap to Bois-Seigneur Isaac.

They were now superior in number to Luxemburg, who thought proper to secure himself in a fortified camp, that he might not be obliged to fight without a manifest advantage. Prince Waldec would willingly have attacked him in his entrenchments, had he not been restrained by a positive order of the States-general, forbidding him to risque another engagement ; and when this restriction was removed, the elector judged it imprudent to hazard a battle.

By this time the emperor's son Joseph was by the Electoral college advanced to the dignity of king of the Romans ; but his affairs suffered an irreparable loss in the death of the brave duke of Lorraine, who was suddenly attacked with a quinsy at a
small

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 185

small village, called Wells, in the neighbourhood of Lintz, and expired in a few hours.

His death was strongly suspected to have been owing to poison, administered by order of the French king, against whom he had formally declared war, as a sovereign prince unjustly expelled his dominions. He had even threatened to enter his dutchy, at the head of forty thousand men, in the course of the ensuing summer; to prevent which the French court was supposed to have had recourse to that infamous expedient, which they have never scrupled to employ, whenever it might serve their ambitious purposes.

This suspicion was corroborated by a variety of striking circumstances. The duke himself, a little before he expired, is said to have written the following note to the emperor. "I am dying. I know not, whether I am paying by my death the ordinary debt of nature, or whether I am sacrificed to the unjust and ambitious designs of a crown, which has declared itself an implacable enemy to my family." In another note to the emperor, he says, "I departed from Inspruck, in order to come and receive your orders; our God calls me hence; I am going to render him an account of a life which I
" had

“ had devoted to you. I humbly beseech
 “ your majesty to remember my wife, who
 “ is related to you, my children, whom I
 “ leave without any fortune, and my sub-
 “ jects, who are oppressed.”

He was a prince of the most amiable virtues, and most eminent abilities, inferior to none, either of that or of any other age, in any of the qualities which constitute the character of a great accomplished man; but his distinguished merit, which engaged the esteem, and excited the admiration of the rest of the world, served only to inflame the jealousy, and provoke the vengeance of that court, which has been always alike remarkable for its want of faith and want of humanity. How much the French thought themselves interested in taking him out of the way, appeared evidently from the joy with which they received the news of his death; for these being brought to Paris a few days after the death of the dauphiness, were deemed a proper counterballance to that calumny.

The command of the Imperial army was now bestowed upon the elector of Saxony, who advanced against the dauphin, who had crossed the Rhine at the head of forty thousand men, and intended to force his way into Wirtemberg; but the duke of Bavaria
 by

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 187

by his conduct and courage, defeated his design, and obliged him to remain on the defensive during the remaining part of the campaign.

The parliament meeting on the second day of October, the king in his speech to both houses, told them, that he had exerted his utmost endeavours for the reduction of Ireland, and hoped he had brought it to such a condition, as would prevent it from being any longer a burden to England: that he was highly pleased with the behaviour of the troops in that kingdom, who bore their hardships with uncommon patience, and displayed the most signal and heroic valour: that the supplies granted for the prosecution of the war, were far from being equal to the purposes, for which they were assigned: that he hoped they would take care to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to pay the arrears of the army: that the success of the confederacy abroad would, in a great measure, depend upon the vigour and dispatch of their proceedings: that he entertained the most grateful sense of the zeal and affection which his subjects of all degrees had manifested for his person and government, during the late danger, to which the nation
was

was exposed by the near approach of the French navy; nor could he sufficiently express his resentment against those, who had been guilty of misconduct in the management of the fleet: that he hoped they would proceed in their deliberations with unanimity and spirit; and that whoever should endeavour to divert their attention from these subjects of importance, which he had proposed, could neither be a friend to him, nor a well-wisher to his country.

Both houses immediately presented separate addresses to the king and queen, expressing the deep sense, which they had, of his courage and conduct in the field, and of his prudence and resolution in the government, during the late dangers. And the commons, the better to demonstrate their attachment, voted a supply of four millions for the support of the army and navy, and established the funds for that purpose.

They resolved that the sum of one million should be raised by the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland; and that a bill should be prepared for confiscating these estates, with a clause, empowering his majesty to grant a third part of them to those who had served in the war, as well as to give such terms and condition to those who were in arms, as he should think proper. This clause was re-
ject.

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 189

jected, and many petitions were presented against the bill, by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful.

To these petitions, some of which might possibly be absurd, while others were certainly reasonable, the commons paid too little regard, by absolutely refusing to take them into consideration; by which means they incurred the same censure, which had been so justly merited by James's parliament at Dublin, which had attainted about three thousand persons, merely for being absent from the kingdom.

The lords, however, were somewhat more scrupulous; for when the bill was sent up to them, they thought it their duty fairly to examine all petitions, to reject such as were plainly groundless, and to admit such as were well founded; and thus the bill was so long delayed that it could not be passed in the present session. The rest of the supply was to be raised by a double excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors; by certain impositions upon goods imported for the space of five years; and by a countinuanee of the former duties upon wines, vinegar, and tobacco. They afterwards granted another supply for building seventeen ships of war, in order to reinforce the navy.

Having

Having thus finished the public business, they proceeded to the consideration of other matters. The marquis of Carmarthen was deeply engaged in the interest of the Tories, and of consequence, was extremely obnoxious to the opposite party; who now resolved, if possible, to revive his old impeachment. The scheme was formed and conducted by fourteen leading men, of whom the earl of Shrewsbury was the chief.

A committee of lords was appointed to examine precedents, and to enquire “ whether impeachments continued in force from “ parliament to parliament, or whether they “ were not extinguished by an act of indemnity.” Several precedents were adduced, to prove their continuance; but as in all these there had still been an order of one parliament to continue them to the next, they could not be supposed to tally to the present case. And though it might be doubtful whether the king’s pardon could be pleaded in bar to an impeachment; yet since the present parliament had passed, in their very first session, the act of indemnity granted by the king, it seemed extremely unreasonable to offer an impeachment against an act, to which themselves had given their most solemn sanction. For these reasons, the affair was dropped; and with so much the greater ease,

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 1691

case, as the marquis, about this time, happened to perform some important service, which was equally agreeable to both parties.

On the fifth day of January*, the king closed the session with a speech, in which he assured them, that he entertained the most grateful sense of the liberality and dispatch with which they had granted the public supplies, which should be faithfully employed in the services for which they were allotted: that he would make no grant of any of the forfeited estates in Ireland, till that matter should be settled in parliament, to the satisfaction of all parties: that he hoped they would take care to propagate, in their several counties, the same principles of zeal and attachment to his government, which they had so eminently displayed in parliament: and that he trusted the good understanding between him and his subjects, would be more than sufficient to defeat the designs of their secret foes, and the attempts of their open and avowed enemies. Then the lord chief justice Atkins declared it was his majesty's pleasure, that the house should adjourn themselves to the twenty-first day of March.

The

* A. D. 1691.

The king, having settled the affairs of the nation, set out for Margate on the first day of January; but finding, on his arrival at Canterbury, that the wind was easterly, and the river bound up by a hard frost, he returned to Kensington.

On the sixteenth, however, he embarked at Gravesend with a numerous retinue, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by rear-admiral Rooke. In the morning of the second day he was informed by a fisherman, that he was within a league and a half of Goree; and as he was weary of the sea, he quitted the yacht, and went into a shallop, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, with Overkirke and Zuysestein.

The ice near the shore was so thick, that it was impossible to sail directly to land: they were therefore obliged to tack about, but instead of gaining their point, they presently lost sight of the fleet, and night coming on, were exposed for eighteen hours, to the inclemency of the weather, and the danger of the enemy and the sea, which ran so high that the king and all his attendants were drenched with sea-water.

The sailors expressing their apprehensions of danger, "What!" said he, "are you
" afraid

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 193

" afraid to die in my company ?" At break of day he landed on the isle of Goree, where he took some refreshment : then he returned to the boat and arrived in the afternoon at Oranien-Haak, in the neighbourhood of Maesland-sluis.

A deputation of the States met him at Houslardyke ; and about six in the evening, he reached the Hague, where he received the compliments of the States General, the States of Holland, the Council of State, the other colleges, and of all the foreign ministers. As his sudden arrival had prevented the solemnity of a formal reception, he was afterwards persuaded to make his public entry, which was accordingly performed on the twenty-sixth of the month with great magnificence : triumphal arches were erected to represent his achievements : the burghers appeared under arms ; the cannon on the Viveberg opposite to his palace were discharged ; and the evening concluded with bonfires, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. He assisted at their different assemblies ; acquainted them with his successes in England and Ireland, and assured them of his constant attachment to the interest of his native country.

In a few days was held a general congress of the confederate princes, to whom William

represented, that the imminent dangers to which they were at present exposed, plainly demonstrated the impropriety of their former conduct, and the absolute necessity of an immediate change of measures: that it was not now, time to deliberate, but to act: that the enemy was already master of the principal fortresses which formed the barrier of the common liberty; and would soon be able to possess himself of all the inferior ones, if a spirit of division, selfishness, and irresolution, continued to influence them: that every one ought to consider his own interest as involved in the general good: that the enemy's forces were numerous and powerful, and, if not prevented, would carry all things like a torrent before them; that it was in vain to oppose the pretensions of injustice by unavailing complaints, unprofitable clamour, or fruitless protestations: that they were not the resolutions of a peaceable diet, nor the hopes of some men of fortune built on a sandy foundation, but powerful armies, bold enterprizes, and a prompt and vigorous execution, that must accomplish the glorious work: that all these must instantly be employed against the common enemy, if they meant to check his progress, and to snatch from his hands the liberties of Europe, which he now held subjected to a cruel and heavy yoke:

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 195

yoke : and that, for his own part, he would spare neither his credit, forces, nor person, in order to effect so noble a design ; but would come in the spring at the head of his troops, faithfully to perform the promise he had already given.

This speech, delivered by a prince who was justly considered as the soul of the confederacy, had a powerful effect upon all the members ; and it was presently resolved to employ against France, an army of two hundred and twenty-two thousand men. The proportions of the different princes and states were presently settled ; and the king of England agreed to furnish twenty thousand. He procured such effectual relief to the duke of Savoy, that the affairs of that prince began to assume a more favourable appearance. The plan of operations was fully adjusted ; and every thing was transacted with the most perfect unanimity and concord.

Having thus finished the business for which he had undertaken the journey, William was preparing to return to England ; when he received intelligence that Mons was invested by the French king in person, accompanied by the dauphin, together with the dukes of Orleans and Chartres.

He forthwith ordered the troops to be assembled, and determined to march to the re-

lief of the place; but upon his arrival at Brussels, he found that the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages and other necessaries for the expedition; and before these could be procured, the garrison of Mons was obliged to surrender. He was no sooner apprized of this event, than he returned to the Hague, set sail for England, and arrived at Whitehall, on the thirteenth day of April.

Notwithstanding the firm attachment which the nation in general expressed to the present government, the friends of the abdicated prince could never lay aside the hopes of effecting his restoration. A conspiracy for this purpose had been lately discovered. Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, and one Elliot, who were concerned in the plot, had hired a vessel of Mrs. Prat of Barking in Essex, in order to go over to France, and concert measures at the court of St. Germain.

This secret was communicated to the marquis of Caermarthen, by the husband of the woman, who likewise told him, that they proposed to embark on the thirtieth day of December. The marquis reported this intelligence to the king and council, and orders were given to captain Billop to attend the motion of the vessel, and arrest the passengers.

He

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 197

He accordingly boarded her at Gravesend, on pretence of impressing seamen, and drew the three conspirators from the hold, who were there concealed. Lord Preston had left his letters behind him; and Ashton took them up with a design of throwing them overboard: but, before he could execute his purpose, he was searched, and the papers taken from him.

Among these papers were a number of letters written in a mysterious, emblematical stile, which, at first sight, seemed altogether unintelligible, but, by means of certain preconcerted signs, were easily understood by the persons to whom they were addressed. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French king to assist king James in re-ascending the throne, while William should be in Holland: but the scheme was ill laid, and countenanced but by very few persons of note, among whom the chief were the earl of Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, the lord Preston, his brother Mr. Graham, and Penn, the famous quaker.

Preston and Ashton were immediately brought to their trial, and condemned. The latter was executed; the former was indulged with a pardon. Elliot was not tried, because it appeared not that he had any hand in writing the letters: the earl of Clarendon

was committed to the Tower, where he remained some months, and he was afterwards confined to his own house in the country; a favour which he owed to his near relation to the queen, to whom he was first cousin. The bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn, absconded; and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

This prelate, in his letters to king James and his queen, had engaged not only for himself, but also for all his deprived brethren. They had now been suffered to enjoy their sees above a whole year, without performing any part of their duty. They had been told, that an act of parliament might be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, provided they would discharge their episcopal functions.

This generous proposal they answered by a sullen silence; and, when pressed to make reply, they only said, that they would live quietly; that is conceal their designs, until they should find an opportunity of carrying them into execution. They were now deprived of their chief support by the desertion of Dr. Sherlock, who, upon king James's departure from Ireland, imagined, that the government was now firmly established, and that he might therefore take the oaths with a clear conscience; which he
accord-

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 1689

accordingly did, and published a learned vindication of his conduct.

The king finding it absolutely impossible to reconcile the deprived bishops to his person and government, thought himself bound, as well as from a regard to his own safety, as a concern for the public welfare, to bestow their sees upon men of fewer prejudices and more enlarged sentiments. Accordingly the archbishopric of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Tillotson, one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclesiastics of the age, who long refused to accept the proffered dignity; wisely judging, that it would expose him to the rancour and resentment of the nonjuring party, who, being deprived of every other means of doing hurt, would vent their malice in satire and invective. At last, however, he was persuaded to comply; and was solemnly consecrated in the archiepiscopal see.

Dr. Fowler was promoted to the bishopric of Gloucester, Cumberland to that of Peterborough, Moore to Norwich, Grove to Chichester, Patrick to Ely, and Beveridge to Bath and Wells; but this last refused to accept the offer, and it was therefore bestowed upon Dr. Kidder. At the same time, Dr. Sherlock was preferred to the deanry of St. Paul's, Comber to the deanry of

of Durham, Talbot to the deanry of Worcester, and Woodward to the deanry of Sarum. Soon after, the archbishopric of York was bestowed upon Dr. Sharp ; and the see of Bristol upon Dr. Hall, in the room of Dr. Ironside, translated to that of Hereford. As these men were all remarkable for moderation and prudence, their promotion was universally approved by the nation ; especially by the Whigs, who, from this time, began to conceive a much better opinion of his majesty's principles, than, from some of his late measures, they had been apt to entertain.

The king having regulated the operations of the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where general Ginkle commanded, departed from Kensington, embarked at Harwich on the second day of May, and, setting sail with a fair wind, under convoy of a strong fleet, landed the next day at Maeslandsloys, and arrived the same evening at the Hague ; where he began to make preparations for taking the field in person.

The French had begun the campaign much earlier than the confederates. Luxemburgh, with an army of forty thousand men, was advancing to besiege Brussels ; while the marquis de Boufflers, with another army, sat down before Liege. William

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 201

William being informed of these particulars, immediately put himself at the head of the troops, and arrived in time, not only to cover the former place, but likewise to raise the siege of the latter.

The confederate army was now superior to that of the enemy; but such was the vigilance of Luxemburgh, that the king could not avail himself of this advantage. In vain he attempted, by marches, countermarches, and stratagems, to bring them to a general engagement: the French marshal avoided it with such dexterity, as baffled all his endeavours.

While he lay at Court-sur-heurse, a soldier, corrupted by the enemy, set fire to the fuses of several bombs, by the explosion of which the whole magazine might have been destroyed, had not the mischief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery: even while the fuses were burning, they drew out the waggons from the line, and tumbled them down the side of a hill; so that nothing was lost but two carriages, each of them loaded with twenty-five bombs and a barrel of powder. The fellow, who made this treacherous attempt, being discovered, confessed, that he had been employed for this purpose by the duke of Luxemburg. He was tried by a court-martial, and

and suffered the death which he so well merited.

The king, finding it impossible to provoke the enemy to a battle, transferred the command of the army to prince Waldec, and returned to the Hague. The prince immediately removed from Irknowel to Leuze, and, on the ninth day of September, directed his march towards Cambron. While he was passing the little river and defile near Catoire, his rear was furiously attacked by the enemy, who at first threw the allies into great confusion; but were at last obliged to retreat, with the loss of five hundred men, though not till they had killed above double that number on the allies side. The prince continued his route to Cambron; and soon after both armies were put into winter quarters.

In the course of this summer, the French, commanded by Catinat, had made considerable progress in Italy. They had reduced Villa-Franca, Nice, Villana, Carmagnola, and some other fortifications; and a strong detachment, under the command of the marquis de Feuquieres, had invested Coni, an important fortress, garrisoned by the Vaudois and French refugees.

The duke of Savoy now saw himself on the brink of ruin. Most of his places of strength

strength were in the possession of the enemy: Coni was besieged; and La Hoguette, another French general, had forced the passes of the valley of Aosta, which opened an entrance into the Verceillois, and the frontiers of the Milanese. Turin was threatened with a bombardment: the inhabitants were struck with terror and consternation; and their sovereign, instead of opposing the enemy's career, lay with his little army encamped on the hill of Moncallier, from whence he beheld the destruction of his towns and palace of Risoli.

Schomberg, who commanded a body of Vaudois in the pay of Great Britain, exhorted the duke to act on the offensive, and give battle to Catinat, while that general's army was diminished by detachments; and prince Eugene seconded his advice: but this proposal was strongly opposed by the marquis de Legonez, who acted as trustee for the Spanish monarch, and who plainly foresaw, that, if the French gained the victory, they would instantly penetrate into Milan.

By this time the garrison of Coni was reduced to such extremity, that, unless speedily relieved, they behoved soon to surrender. In order to prevent such a signal calamity, prince Eugene set out for that place with a convoy, guarded by twenty-

two

two hundred horse: at Magliano he was joined by six thousand militia: and Bulonde, who conducted the siege, was no sooner informed of his approach, than he fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him several pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, and utensils, with all his sick and wounded. In a few days Hogueville abandoned the valley of Aosta, and Catinat retired with his army toward Villa Nova d'Asti.

The miscarriage of the French before Coni, made such an impression on the mind of Louvois the minister of Lewis, that he could not help shedding tears when he imparted the news to his master. Lewis replied, with great composure, "you are too easily affected with a trifle. You are plainly spoiled by good fortune. For my part, who remember to have seen the Spanish troops in Paris, I can bear greater misfortunes with indifference."

But the retreat of the French from Piedmont, had a still stronger influence on the resolutions of the conclave at Rome, which was then assembled for the election of a new pope, in the room of Alexander the eighth, who died on the first of January. The Italians, who had hitherto been restrained

strained by the terror of the French army, were no sooner informed of this event, than they concurred with the Spaniards and Imperialists, in raising cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, to the papal chair. He assumed the name of Innocent the twelfth, in honour of the last pope, known by the appellation of Innocent the eleventh, and continued to oppose the French interest with the same zeal and activity as his predecessor.

The strength of the allies was considerably weakened by the war, which had first been excited, and was still continued by the intrigues of France, between the Turks and the emperor. The Mussulmans, however, had no great reason to boast of their success. They had sustained four terrible defeats in the course of three years; the first at Patochin, the second at Nissa, the third at Widin, and the fourth, which happened in the present year, on the banks of the Danube. The emperor might now have concluded a peace on very advantageous terms; but he was, in a great measure, restrained by the superstition of his own temper. His greatest pleasure was in destroying heretics; and he flattered himself with the ridiculous hopes, in consequence of some absurd prophecy, of marching in person to the very gates of Constantinople.

By this time the Irish war was brought to a final period. The Catholics, indeed, had received from France, a large supply of provisions, cloaths and ammunition, together with a brave and experienced commander, in the person of Mr. St. Ruth, who had greatly distinguished himself in Germany.

Notwithstanding these advantages, they were unable to resist the courage and conduct of Ginckle, who now commanded the English army in Ireland. In the beginning of June, that general, being reinforced by Mackay, with the troops, which had reduced the Scottish Highlanders, invested Ballymore, which was defended by a thousand men under colonel Bourke; and which after a faint resistance, surrendered at discretion.

Having repaired and strengthened the fortifications of this place, and supplied it with a sufficient garrison, he advanced to Athlone, situated on the other side of the Shannon, and secured by the Irish army encamped under its Walls. The English town, on the hither side of the river, was taken by storm: and the enemy, after having sustained a considerable loss, broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were planted against the Irish town, which

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 207

which began to play with great success. Beams were even laid across the broken arch; which a party of the enemy, endeavouring to remove, were all of them killed in the attempt. Another party, however, of ten men bravely effected the work; and threw all the beams into the river.

The passage of the river being deemed impracticable, it was resolved in a council of war, that a detachment should pass at a ford, a little to the left of the town, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom slippery and full of large stones, and the pass defended by a bastion, which the enemy had erected on purpose.

The forlorn hope consisted of sixty grenadiers, clad in complete armour, and headed by capt. Sandys and two lieutenants. They were supported by another detachment; and this was followed by six battalions of infantry. The danger and difficulty of the attempt could only be exceeded by the courage and heroism with which it was effected. These men passed twenty a breast in the face of the enemy, who poured down upon them a continued shower of balls, bullets, and grenades. Those, who followed them, took possession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. pontoons were form-

208 *The History of* ENGLAND.

ed at the same time, that the troops might pass in different places. The Irish, confounded at this sudden and unexpected attack, abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that, in half an hour, it was wholly possessed by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in the attempt. Mackay, Tetteau, Talmash, and la Melionere, performed their several parts with uncommon courage and resolution; and general Ginckle, who was the soul of the whole undertaking, animated the men by his example and exhortations, and regulated all their motions. It was therefore reasonable, that this gentleman should entail on his family the honour of so glorious an achievement by the title, which he afterwards received, of earl of Athlone. St. Ruth, who commanded the Irish army, did not, upon this occasion, maintain that character of prudence and circumspection, which he had formerly obtained. When he was informed by express, that the English had entered the river, he said, "it was impossible they should pretend to take a town which he covered with his army, and that he would lay a thousand pistoles they would not dare to attempt it." Sarsfield replied, that he knew the enterprise was not too difficult for English courage;

age; and therefore pressed him to send succours to the town: but the general ridiculed his fears, and some warm expostulations passed between them. Being at length convinced that the English were actually in possession of the place, he ordered several detachments to drive them out again: but here he was sensible of having committed another error in not levelling the fortifications of Athlone, which were next to his trenches; for now the cannon of his own works were turned against him, and that very night he was obliged to decamp. St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles, took post at Aghrim, and having by draughts from garrisons, increased his army to twenty-five thousand men, resolved to hazard a general engagement. Ginckle, having put Athlone in a posture of defence, crossed the Shannon, and advancing against the enemy, resolved to give them battle, though his troops hardly amounted to eighteen thousand men: and the Irish were possessed of a very advantageous situation. Their center was posted on a rising ground, uneven in many places, and intersected with banks and ditches, lined with musqueteers, and secured in front by a large bog almost impassable. Their right was defended by in-

210 *The History of* ENGLAND.

trenchments and by two Danish forts, and their left by the castle of Aghrim.

St. Ruth harangued his forces in a speech which was well suited to their prejudices. He told them, that he had been very successful in suppressing heresy in France, and bringing vast numbers of deluded souls into the bosom of the mother church: that for this reason, his master had made choice of him preferably to others, to establish the church in Ireland, on such a foundation, that it should not henceforward be in the power of hell or heretics to disturb it; and that all good Catholics depended on their courage for the accomplishment of so glorious a work: that matters, indeed, had not answered his expectations, since his arrival among them; but that affairs, however, were not yet so desperate, but that they might be restored: that he heard the prince of Orange's heretical army intended to give him battle: that now, or never, was the time for them to recover their lost honours, privileges, and paternal estates: that they ought no longer to consider themselves as mercenary soldiers; their all was at stake, and their design to restore a pious king to his throne, to propagate the holy faith, and extirpate heresy: that, for their farther encouragement, he could, with the most entire confidence assure them of the love
and

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 211

and gratitude of king James; of the protection of Lewis the Great, of his own alacrity to lead them on, of the prayers of the church for their success, and of the good offices of saints and angels to carry their souls to heaven: and that he hoped they would put on the pious resolution to give no quarter to any of the heretics, especially to any of the French heretics, in the prince of Orange's army.

The arguments of St. Ruth were enforced by the more powerful exhortations of the priests, who, after having represented the truth, piety, and justice of all that the general had said, made the poor deluded creatures swear on the sacrament, that they would never desert their colours.

General Ginckle had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suck; and after having surveyed the posture of the enemy, determined, with the advice of a council of war, to give them battle on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The morning proved so foggy, that he could not begin till about twelve o'clock, when the army crossed the river at two fords and a stone bridge, and marching up to the edge of the great bog, endeavoured to force the only two places by which it was passable, in order to gain the ground on the other side. The enemy made
a most

a most obstinate resistance, and the horse were several times repulsed; but, at last, the troops on the right effected their point by means of some field-pieces.

The day was now so far spent, that the general resolved to delay the battle till next morning; but, observing some disorder among the enemy, and being apprehensive lest they should decamp in the night, he changed his resolution, and ordered the troops to return to the charge.

At five in the evening, the left wing of the English attacked the right wing of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and vigorous reception, that it required the utmost efforts of their courage and resolution, before they could compel them to give ground. The Irish musqueteers were planted in ditches, and strongly supported by their horse, which were placed behind them. Here they maintained their posts with unparalleled obstinacy; nor would they stir from one side of the ditch, till the English presented their pieces from the other; and then, having lines of communication, they presently took post in the next ditch, where they continued to make the same resolute defence.

St. Ruth, seeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately sent succours to them

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 213

them from his centre and left wing. Mackay, no sooner observed them weakened by this detachment, than he ordered three battalions to go round the bog, and fall upon their left, while the center of the English advanced through the middle of the morasses, the men wading up to their waists in mud and water.

After they had gained the other side, they found themselves opposed by a rugged hill, fenced with ditches and hedges; and these were lined with musqueteers, sustained at proper distances with squadrons of horse. There the enemy made such a resolute stand, and fought with such perseverance, that they pushed back the aggressors into the middle of the bog with great loss; and St. Ruth cried out, that he would now drive the English to the gates of Dublin.

In this critical moment Talmash advanced with a fresh body to support them, and the broken troops having recovered their ranks, renewed the attack with such impetuosity, that the Irish retreated in their turn, and the English regained the ground they had lost, though they still found it impossible to ascend the hill.

Mackay reinforced the left wing with a body of horse and dragoons; and first turned the ballance in favour of the English. Ru-
vigny,

vigny, who had exerted himself with great activity during the whole action, was advancing with five regiments of cavalry to sustain the centre, when St. Ruth, suspecting his design, resolved to attack him in a hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. With this view, he began to descend Kirkcomodon hill, with his whole brigade of horse; but, in his way, he was killed by a cannon ball.

This accident discouraged the troops, and created such disorder, as Sarsfield could not rectify; for, though next in command, he had been upon ill terms with St. Ruth, ever since the affair of Athlone, and was entirely ignorant of the plan he had formed. Ru-vigny, having brought up the cavalry without opposition, attacked the enemy in flank, and bore down all before him like a torrent: the center pressed on with redoubled vigour, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; when their whole line giving way at once, they threw down their arms, and betook themselves to flight.

They were hotly pursued for the space of three miles, and a terrible slaughter committed. They are said to have lost in this battle seven thousand men; whereas the loss of the English did not exceed six hundred killed, and nine hundred wounded. The Irish took shelter in Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hopes of receiving
such

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 215

such assistance from France, as would enable them either to continue the war, or obtain good terms from England.

The earl of Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, occasioned by the dreadful calamities in which his country was involved, partly by his own means; and the still greater, which it was likely to suffer from the irreclaimable obstinacy of his countrymen. For his own part, seeing the affairs of king James were now desperate he had resolved to reconcile himself to the new government; and had even advised his friends to pursue the same course. For this prudent and salutary counsel, he was ridiculed by the Catholics, who represented him as a man of no principles; and these unjust censures were supposed to have been the cause of that grief which shortened his days.

In a few days after this battle, Ginckle advanced to Galway, which he summoned to surrender: but lord Dillon and Monsieur d'Ussons, who commanded, made answer, that they were determined to hold out the place to the last extremity. This, it would seem, however, was a mere bravado; for the English no sooner began to form the siege than the governour thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with
the

216 *The History of ENGLAND.*

the honours of war, and were safely conducted to Limerick.

Ginckle bent his march to the same town, which was the only place of strength now in the hands of the Irish. Arriving before it on the twentieth day of August he soon made himself master of Ireton's and Cromwell's forts, which were now denominated Mackay's and Nassau's, the commanders under whom they had been gained

On the twenty-seventh Castle-Connell, and Castle-Carrick a gunnel, situated on the Shannon, at the distance of three miles from the town, were assaulted and the garisons made prisoners of war. Next day the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was drawn: while the Irish army lay encamped on the other side of the river; and the fords were defended by four regiments of their dragoons. At the same time, captain Cole, with a Squadron of ships, sailed up the river, and anchored in sight of the town. The attack was carried on with great vigour and success till the seventeenth of September; when, notwithstanding these advantages, it was debated in a council of war, whether it would be most proper to prosecute the enterprize, or pass the river and destroy the enemy's forage, and then turn the siege into a blockade.

The

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 217

The latter expedient seemed at first to be preferred; and some steps taken towards putting it in practice. The cannons were dismounted, the out-forts evacuated, and several other motions made, as if they intended to relinquish the siege.

The enemy manifested their joy by shouts and acclamations; but this was of short continuance. In the night the English began to form a bridge of pontoons over the river, about a mile above the camp; and the work was completed before break of day. A strong party of horse and foot had immediately passed; and the enemy were struck with such a panic, that they threw down their arms and fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their tents, baggage, three pieces of cannon, and one standard behind them.

The bridge was then moved nearer the town, and fortified: all the fords and passes were seized: and the batteries continued to play with great fury till the twenty-second day of the month, when Ginckle passed over with a strong detachment of horse and dragoons, ten battalions of foot, and fourteen pieces of cannon; leaving Wirtemberg, Mackay, and Talmash to command on the hither side of the river.

218 *The History of* ENGLAND.

About four in the afternoon, the grenadiers assaulted the forts, which covered Thomond-bridge, and took them by storm after an obstinate resistance. The garrison had sent a detachment from the town to support them; and this party was driven back with such impetuosity, that a French major, who commanded in that quarter, fearing the English would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, and left his men to the fury of the pursuers. Six hundred were killed: above one hundred and sixty taken prisoners:*

and

* Among the prisoners was colonel James Skelton who died of his wounds, and in whose pockets was found a paper containing the representation of a spear's head or wound, circumscribed with the following words. " This is the measure of the wounds of the
 " side of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was brought
 " from Constantinople to the emperor Charlemaine in
 " a coffin of goulde, and is a most precious relique, to
 " the end, that he or she that car the same about
 " them, no fire, nor water, no wind, nor tempest,
 " knaife, launce or sword, nor the devil cannot
 " hurt him; and the woman with child the day she
 " seeth the same measure, shall not dey a sudden death
 " but shall be delivered by.———And if any man
 " car the same about him with good devotion, shall
 " have the honour and victory of his enemy, the
 " day that he doth read the same, or heard it read,
 " shall not die an evil death, Amen!" Story's con-
 uation

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 219

and a great number was pushed into the Shannon.

The English made a lodgement within ten yards of the bridge-foot; and the Irish seeing themselves cut off from all hopes of relief, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and colonel Wachop acquainted Scravenmore and Ruvigny with their resolution: hostages were exchanged: a negotiation was commenced: and hostilities ceased on both sides. During the interval Sarsfield and Wachop dined with general Ginckle.

The lords and justices of Ireland arrived in camp on the first day of October; and on the third the articles of capitulation for the city of Limerick, the castles of Ross and Clare, with all the other places that were still in the hands of the Catholics, was finally concluded. The Catholics were gratified with a general indemnity, and restored to the enjoyment of all the liberty in the exercise of their religion, which they possessed in the reign of Charles the second. They were admitted to all the privileges of

T 2

sub-

tinuation of the wars in Ireland. p. 225. This is supposed to have been transcribed by some Popish priest, and to have been kept by the colonel from a principle of devotion: and we have only inserted it as a striking specimen of the ignorance and superstition both of the clergy and laity of that persuasion.

subjects upon taking the oath of allegiance, without being obliged to take the oath of supremacy : and as many of them as chose to go to France, were indulged with a full liberty and a free transportation.

Genckle, however, receiving a letter from a lieutenant-colonel in the Irish army, in which he complained, that he was confined for refusing to go to France, was so highly incensed at this violence, that he immediately caused four guns to be planted upon Bolls bridge, saying, with some heat, " that he would teach the Irish to play tricks " with him."

Sarsfield, alarmed at these preparations, repaired to the general; and expostulated with him, perhaps, with too much warmth. Sarsfield saying, in conclusion, " that he " was in the general's power." " Not so," replied Genckle, promptly. " you shall go " back to the fort, and do what you can." The matter, however, was at last compromised by the release of the colonel; and as many of the Irish, as thought proper, amounting in all to about twelve thousand, were embarked for France, where, upon their arrival, they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; and told them that they should still
serve

serve under his commission and command, and that the king of France had already given orders for their being new-clothed, supplied with all necessaries, and put into quarters of refreshment.

The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, baron Ginckle returned to England, where the commons, in token of their gratitude for the important services, which he had performed to the nation, ordered seven of their members to offer him their solemn thanks, in the name of the whole house.

To this compliment the baron replied ;
 “ I acknowledge this distinguishing honour
 “ done me by the house of commons, and
 “ value it above a triumph. The success
 “ of their majesties arms in Ireland, was
 “ owing chiefly to the valour of the Eng-
 “ lish ; and I will take care to communi-
 “ cate the vote of the house to the officers
 “ who served in Ireland, and always en-
 “ deavour to promote the prosperity of their
 “ majesties and the government.”

He was afterwards created earl of Athlone, and baron of Aghrim ; and to enable him the better to support his dignity, he was gratified with a grant of lands in Ireland, amounting to twenty-six thousand four hundred and eighty acres, which was confirmed to him by the Irish parliament. He

was likewise invited to a splendid entertainment in the city, together with the duke of Wirtemberg, the generals Scravenmore, Lanier, Talmash, Ruvigny, and most of the field-officers in town. After all, it must be acknowledged, that, without detracting from the merit of Ginckle, the success of the campaign was in a great measure owing, and therefore the glory was proportionably due, to some of the general officers; particularly to Ruvigny, Mackay, and Talmash.

King William, after his return from the army, continued some time at the Hague, regulating the operations of the ensuing campaign; and then embarking for England, attended by a squadron of men of war, commanded by Sir Cloudefly Shovel, arrived at Margate on the nineteenth of October.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-second day of the same month, the king, in his speech, represented the necessity of sending a strong fleet to sea as early as possible, and of maintaining a considerable army, as well to annoy the common enemy abroad, as to secure the kingdom from insult or invasion. He further told them, that, by the vigour and dispatch of their resolutions, they had now an opportunity, which, if

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 223

neglected, they could never reasonably expect to recover, to establish not only the security of these kingdoms, but likewise the peace and tranquillity of Europe.

Both houses congratulated his majesty upon his safe return, and the success of his arms in the reduction of Ireland: they declared that they would assist him in prosecuting the war against France, with such vigour as might enable him to obtain an honourable and lasting peace to his own dominions, and to secure his neighbours from the attempts and invasions of the common oppressor. Addresses were likewise presented to the queen, acknowledging her prudent administration during his majesty's absence.

Notwithstanding these warm and loyal professions, it soon appeared that a powerful party was formed against the government. The leaders of this faction were afraid to open their battery, during the continuance of the Irish war; because it could then have had no effect. But now that the war was brought to a final period, they began to exert themselves with uncommon activity.

They endeavoured to persuade the people, that there was no necessity for maintaining a standing army; that England ought only to assist her allies with very few auxiliary

liary troops, and leave them chiefly to fight their own battles; nor could she interpose in the affairs of the Continent, in the manner she had lately done, and still seemed resolved to continue, without discovering the most wanton prodigality of her blood and treasure, and finally accomplishing her own ruin.

It was not considered, that, without the interposition of England, the grand alliance, in all probability, would never have taken place. Without that confederacy, France would have had no difficulty in reducing Flanders; Holland would soon have followed: and, thus strengthened by the addition of those two powerful maritime states, that ambitious nation would have found it an easy matter to destroy, first the commerce, and afterwards the liberties of Great Britain.

These views, however, were too complicated and extensive for the narrow capacities of many weak but well-meaning people, who were easily deceived by the artful insinuations of their superiors. And as the argument against continental connections was specious and plausible; favoured of prudence, œconomy, and a regard to national interest; and, of consequence, seemed likely to engage the attention of the public; it

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 225

was artfully employed by all the friends of the late monarch, to alienate the people from his present majesty.

Thus the faction, which declared against the court, was composed of men of different and even opposite principles: of those, who, though convinced of the rectitude of public measures, were yet dissatisfied with the new settlement; and of those, who really believed the measures to be wrong, but were firmly attached to the established government.

Another prejudice, conceived against the king, was of a still more delicate and interesting nature. He was said to have a greater affection for the Dutch than the English, to honour them with greater confidence, and treat them with more familiarity. This distinction, if it really was true, might be owing, in a great measure, to his early acquaintance with the former, and his total ignorance of the latter, till his arrival among them.

His deportment too, naturally cold and reserved, was better suited to the temper of the Dutch than to that of the English; who, though far from talkative, were more frank and social than the other. It appears not, however, that this partiality ever influenced him in his public conduct, or induced

duced him to prefer a foreigner to the prejudice of a native; unless every preferment, bestowed upon a foreigner should, unjustly, be considered in that light.

The king was likewise said to be extremely tenacious of his prerogative, and incapable of bearing the least thought of seeing it diminished; and, the better to support it, admitted into his service those very persons who had been employed as the instruments of arbitrary power in the late reigns.

Certain it is that the king, from what motive it is difficult to determine, had given some occasion for this reflection. He seems unhappily to have conceived a strong jealousy and distrust of the Whigs, on account of their opposition to the settlement of his revenue for life, and some other measures; and to have fallen, with too little caution, into the arms of the Tories: and though the high-flyers of that party were generally suspected of jacobitism, and of consequence could never be heartily reconciled to his government; yet was he so imprudent and ill advised, as to admit some of them into the cabinet. The principal of these were the earls of Rochester and Ranelagh, and Sir Edward Seymour, who had lately been created privy-counsellors; and who had, all
of

of them, opposed the king's elevation to the throne, and strenuously argued in favour of a regent.

Rochester was a professed advocate for regal authority, and deemed severity the best means of supporting government: he was a man of parts and integrity, but of a violent and headstrong temper.

Ranelagh was alike distinguished for his great abilities, and his immoderate propensity to pleasure: capable, however, of conducting the most intricate and important affairs, amidst the tumults of riot and debauchery, the gratification of his passions never interfered with the discharge of his office. He was possessed of all the winning and engaging arts of a courtier, and could adapt his behaviour to different tempers with surprising facility. He had managed the revenue of Ireland, in the reign of Charles the second; enjoyed the post of pay-master in the army of king James; and continued to hold the same office under the government of William and Mary.

The talents of Sir Edward Seymour, which were really great, were all of them tarnished by his intolerable pride, which would allow him to treat no man upon an equal footing. Being the elder branch of the Seymour family, he was so elated with
the

228 *The History of* ENGLAND.

the notion of his high birth, that he looked down with supreme contempt upon all those who were less ancient, and, as in fact he seemed to think, less wise than himself. He had been speaker of the commons in the time of king Charles; and never man exercised that office with more despotic and absolute authority.

He was a perfect master, indeed, of the business of the house; and was so well acquainted with the sentiments of every member, that, with one glance of his eye, he could foretel the fate of any motion. The sum voted for the service of the ensuing year, amounted to three millions four hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and seventy-five pounds: but the establishment of funds for raising these supplies, was retarded by several incidental affairs, which engaged the attention of the house. One was a contest between the East-India company, and some private merchants.

The matter was referred to the examination of a committee, which, having perused the complaints and answers on both sides, were so little pleased with the company's defence, that they addressed the king to dissolve it, and, grant a charter to a new company. The king said, that, as it was an affair of great importance to the trade of the nation,

nation, he would consider the subject maturely, and then give them a positive answer.

The next affair that came before the parliament, was the pretended discovery of a plot, by one Fuller, a prisoner in the King's bench. It is said, indeed, that a conspiracy had actually been formed by the Papists in Lancashire, to raise a rebellion, and restore king James; that the truth of it was sufficiently attested by several witnesses, whom the Jacobites found means to take off either by fair or foul means; and that the fact was still farther confirmed by the papers found upon lord Preston.

Fuller, hearing of this conspiracy, of which it appears he was intirely ignorant, and desirous, no doubt, to get free from his present confinement, resolved to commence informer. At his own request he was brought to the bar of the Commons, where he produced some papers. He obtained a blank pass from the king for two persons, who, he said, would come from the Continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed that colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes were the persons whom he had named as witnesses, and for whom he had obtained the pass and protection. Search was made for

them according to his directions; but no such persons were found.

He was desired to produce them himself; but neither could he perform this task. He was then ordered to bring one Jones, whom he had likewise named. Even this person he could not find. The commons, provoked at his insolence and presumption, declared him a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser, who had scandalized his majesty's person and government, abused the house of commons, and falsely accused several persons of honour and quality. He was prosecuted by the attorney-general; and condemned to stand in the pillory; a disgrace which he suffered without a blush, and which he, perhaps, thought was but a very reasonable price for the liberty he had enjoyed for a few days; for, in all probability, he was re-committed to prison.

The public business was farther interrupted by a warm dispute between the two houses, concerning a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason. This bill had been laid aside by the lords in the preceding session; but it was now again brought in, and passed the lower house. The design of this bill was to guard the subject against the rigours and severities to which he was exposed in the late reigns.

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. 231

It ordained, that the prisoner should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, as also a list of the names of the jurors, ten days before his trial: and that his witnesses should be examined upon oath, as well as those of the crown. As the commons were providing for their own security, the lords thought it reasonable to take the same precaution.

They therefore added a clause, importing, that on the trial of any peer, or peeress, for treason, or misprision of treason, all the peers who have a right to sit and vote in parliament, should be duly summoned to assist at the trial: that this summons should be delivered at least twenty days before the trial: and that every peer so summoned and appearing, shall vote upon the occasion. As it had been the custom for the lord steward to summon only a competent number of peers to attend the trial of any one of the same dignity, the commons rejected this clause, which they considered as an alteration of the constitution. A conference was held between the two houses: the lords insisted on their clause: the commons refused their assent; and the bill was entirely dropped.

The Commons next proceeded to enquire into the miscarriage of the fleet during the late summer's expedition. Admiral Russel,

who commanded, presented to the house, a list of the ships engaged in that expedition, together with the instructions which he had received from the commissioners of the Admiralty, directing him how to act. These were compared with all the cases of the like nature, which had happened during the last twelve years : and from a full examination it appeared, that the blame was wholly chargeable on the lords of the Admiralty.

A committee was therefore appointed, to receive their answers to the accusations brought against them. The admiral being further asked, Why he lay at the Nore for six days together, after the fleet was ready, and the wind fair ? replied, that he did not think himself strong enough to sail at first, as he had not above fifty ships of his own, and the Dutch refused, until their complement should arrive, to attend him to the blockade of Dunkirk, the service to which they were destined : and that, when the complement of the Dutch at last came up, his provisions were exhausted.

He likewise said, that the reason of his having stayed so long in Torbay after the wind was fair, was for want of orders from the Admiralty ; though he had applied several times to their lordships for that purpose : as it was one of the articles in his instructions,

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 233

structions, that, whenever he came into port, he should not stir out again without their express directions.

The funds for the ensuing year being settled, and several acts * passed relating to civil polity, the king, on the twenty-fourth day of February †, came to the house of peers, and closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the zeal and attachment they had shewn to his government, and the liberality and dispatch, with which they had supplied the public necessities; acquainting them, at the same time, with his intention of repairing speedily to the Continent. Then the parliament was adjourned to the twelfth day of April, and afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth day of May.

U 3

Wil-

* The laws enacted in this session were : an act for explaining and supplying the defects of former laws for the settlement of the poor ; an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle ; an act for the ascertaining the tythes of hemp and flax ; an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths ; an act for taking clergy from some offenders, and bringing others to punishment ; an act against deer-stealing ; an act for repairing the high-ways, and settling the rates of carriage of goods ; and an act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent devises.

† A. D. 1692.

William, on his first accession to the throne, had discovered a particular regard for the Presbyterians in Scotland, who were certainly the only true friends whom he had in that country. The Tories, who mortally hated the whole sect, represented this attachment of the king's in a very invidious light. In order, therefore, to prevent the effects of their malice, William resolved to admit some Prelatists into the administration.

Johnson, who had been sent envoy to the elector of Brandenburg, was recalled, and with the master of Stair made joint secretary of state. Melvill, who was the head of the Presbyterians, and had hitherto enjoyed the chief credit and authority, was now made keeper of the privy-seal; Crawford retained the office of president of the council: and Lothian was appointed high-commissioner to the general assembly.

As Presbytery, however, was the established religion of Scotland, William was unable, by his sole authority, to admit the Episcopalians to a share of church government. He, therefore, gave orders to the high-commissioner to propose such a measure to the general assembly; and if they should refuse to give their consent, immediately to dissolve them.

The

WILLIAM III. *and* MARY II. 235

The commissioners soon found that he had occasion to try the extent of his authority. He no sooner made the proposal, than it was haughtily rejected by the whole assembly. This violent opposition was in some measure owing to the natural obstinacy of the Presbyterian clergy, at all times stiff and stubborn ; but chiefly to the ridiculous behaviour of the Episcopalians themselves. They boasted of the king's favour ; treated their antagonists with insolence and contempt ; and even threatened them with the speedy destruction of their favourite Presbytery.

The Presbyterians, conscious of their own strength, resolved to mortify their enemies in their turn. They knew that the law was on their side ; and that their numbers were infinitely superior to those of the other party. They therefore refused, notwithstanding the king's recommendation, to admit the prelatists to any share of church government, unless they would comply with the established discipline, in every, even the most minute article ; and as these were terms to which the others were unwilling to submit, no accommodation could possibly take place.

The

236 *The History of ENGLAND.*

The commissioner, finding that all his endeavours had proved ineffectual, and that nothing was to be expected from such a furious and enraged body; but farther instances of violence and obstinacy, immediately dissolved the assembly, without having appointed, as usual, any time or place for their next meeting. The Presbyterians, however, were not to be subdued, even by this terrible blow. They asserted, that they had an independent right to assemble annually, even without a call from his majesty, which was merely a form: they therefore adjourned themselves, after having protested against the dissolution.

William was incensed at this daring measure, which he regarded as a flagrant invasion of his prerogative; and from thenceforth began to conceive a strong aversion to the whole sect; and they, in their turn, were greatly cooled in their attachment to his government. Thus, by the pernicious counsels of some wicked and treacherous ministers, who were now honoured with his confidence, the king was induced to pursue such measures as evidently tended to lose him the affections of those, who were certainly the best and firmest, and, in fact, the only friends, whom he had in his northern
king.

kingdom : for, though many of the episcopals in that country had taken the oaths to the government; yet it may be safely affirmed, without any breach of charity, that most, if not all of them, were secret enemies to the present establishment; and that they only assumed the appearance of loyalty, the better to enable them to accomplish their designs for effecting the restoration of the abdicated monarch.

The odium, which the king had incurred in Scotland, by his efforts in favour of the episcopals, was greatly encreased by a most barbarous massacre committed, about this time, at Glencoe, which exposed him to much censure, even in England. It is certain, however, that this cruelty was perpetrated without the knowledge of his majesty, as will evidently appear when we come to consider the transactions of the Scottish parliament, which took this affair into consideration.

Another incident which happened about the same period, contributed much to encrease the king's unpopularity. This was his dismissing the earl of Marlborough from all his employments, whether civil or military. The disgrace of this nobleman is said to have been owing, partly to the freedom, with

238 *The History of* ENGLAND.

with which he represented to his majesty the dangerous consequences of his partiality to foreigners; partly to the share, which his wife was supposed to have had in persuading the princess of Denmark to solicit an independent settlement.



End of the TWENTY-EIGHTH VOLUME.

